MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR:

OR,

A PLAN,

CONTAINING THE

PRINCIPLE AND CONSTRUCTION OF AN ESTABLISHMENT,
IN WHICH PERSONS OF ANY DESCRIPTION ARE
TO BE KEPT UNDER *INSPECTION.*

AND IN PARTICULAR

PENITENTIARY-HOUSES,	POOR-HOUSES,
PRISONS,	MANUFACTORIES,
HOUSES OF INDUSTRY,	MAD-HOUSES,
WORK-HOUSES,	HOSPITALS,

AND SCHOOLS.

WITH A PLAN OF MANAGEMENT.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

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ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.

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PREFACE.

MORALS reformed—health preſerved—induſtry invigorated—inſtruction diffuſed—public burthens lightened—Economy ſeated as it were upon a rock—the Gordian knot of the Poor-Laws not cut but untied—all by a ſimple idea in Architecture!——Thus much I ventured to ſay on laying down the pen—and thus much I ſhould perhaps have ſaid on taking it up, if at that early period I had ſeen the whole of the way before me.—A new mode of obtaining power, of mind over mind, in a quantity hitherto without example: and that, to a degree equally without example, ſecured by whoever chooſes to have it ſo, againſt abuſe.—Such is the engine: ſuch the work that may be done with it.—How far the expectations thus held out have been fulfilled, the Reader will decide.

The

The Letters which compoſe the body of this tract, were written at Crecheff in Ruſſia, and from thence ſent to England in the year 1787, much about the ſame time with the DEFENCE of USURY. They were addreſſed to a particular perſon, with a view to a particular eſtabliſhment then in contemplation, (intelligence of which had found its way to me through the medium of an Engliſh newſpaper) and without any immediate or very determinate view to general publication. The attention of the public in Ireland having been drawn to one of the ſubjects to which they relate by the notice given not long ago by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of a diſpoſition on the part of Government there, to make trial of the Penitentiary ſyſtem, it is on that account that they now ſee the light through the medium of the Iriſh preſs.

They are printed as at firſt written, with no other alteration than the eraſure of a few immaterial paſſages, and the addition of a Poſtſcript, ſtating ſuch new ideas as have been the fruit of a more detailed and critical examination, undertaken chiefly with an eye to the particular eſtabliſhment laſt

laſt mentioned, and aſſiſted by profeſſional information and advice.

In running over the deſcriptive part of the Letters, the Reader will find it convenient to remember, that alterations, as ſtated in the Poſtſcript, have been made, though he need not at that period trouble himſelf with conſidering what they are: ſince in either ſhape the details will ſerve equally well for the illuſtration of the general principle, and for the proof of the advantages that may be derived from it.

In what concerns the Penitentiary ſyſtem, I may be obſerved to have diſcuſſed, with rather more freedom than may perhaps be univerſally acceptable, a variety of meaſures either eſtabliſhed or propoſed by gentlemen who have laboured in the ſame line. A taſk this, which I would gladly have avoided: but compleat juſtice could not otherwiſe have been done to the plan here propoſed, nor its title to preference placed in a ſatisfactory point of view. Among the notions thus treated it is with pleaſure rather

ther than regret that I obſerve ſeveral which on a former occaſion I had myſelf either ſuggeſted or ſubſcribed to. I ſay with pleaſure: regarding the incident as a proof of my having no otherwiſe done by others than as I not only would be done by, but have actually done by myſelf: a conſideration which will, I hope, make my apology to the reſpectable gentlemen concerned, and aſſiſt their candour in recommending me to their forgiveneſs. If by the light of reciprocal animadverſion I ſhould find myſelf enabled to rectify any errors of my own which may ſtill have eſcaped me, the correction, inſtead of being ſhrunk from as a puniſhment, will be embraced as a reward.

In point of method and compreſſion ſomething might have been gained, had the whole, Letters and Poſtſcript together, been new caſt, and the ſupplemental matter worked up with the original. But time was wanting; and, if the invention be worth any thing, the account given of it will not be the leſs amuſing or leſs inſtructive,

tive, for being exhibited in a hiſtorical and progreſſive point of view.

The concluding Letter on Schools is a ſort of *jeu d'eſprit*, which would hardly have preſented itſelf in ſo light a form, at any other period than at the moment of conception, and under the flow of ſpirits which the charms of novelty are apt enough to inſpire. As ſuch it may poſſibly help to alleviate the tedium of a dry diſcuſſion, and on that ſcore obtain the pardon, ſhould it fail of receiving the approbation, of the graver claſs of readers.

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PANOPTICON,

OR THE

INSPECTION HOUSE,

&c. &c.

LETTER I.

Idea of the Inſpection Principle.

CRECHEFF in WHITE RUSSIA,
—— 1787.

DEAR ****,

I OBSERVED t'other day in one of your Engliſh papers an advertiſement relative to a HOUSE OF CORRECTION therein ſpoken of, as intended for **********. It occured to me, that the plan of a building, lately contrived by my brother, for purpoſes in ſome reſpects ſimilar, and which under the name of the *Inſpection Houſe*, or the *Elaboratory*, he is about erecting here, might afford ſome

hints for the above Eſtabliſhment *. I have accordingly obtained ſome drawings relative to it, which I here incloſe. Indeed I look upon it as capable of applications of the moſt extenſive nature; and that for reaſons which you will ſoon perceive.

To ſay all in one word, it will be found applicable, I think, without exception to all eſtabliſhments whatſoever, in which within a ſpace not too large to be covered or commanded by buildings, a number of perſons are meant to be kept under inſpection. No matter how different, or even oppoſite the purpoſe: whether it be, that of *puniſhing the incorrigible*, *guarding the inſane*, *reforming the vitious*, *confining the ſuſpected*, *employing the idle*, *maintaining the helpleſs*, *curing the ſick*, *inſtructing the willing* in any branch of induſtry, or *training the riſing race* in the path of *education*: in a word whether it be applied to the purpoſes of *perpetual priſons* in the room of death, or *priſons for confinement* before trial, *penitentiary-houſes*, or *houſes of correction*, or *work-houſes*, or *manufactories*, or *mad-houſes*, or *hoſpitals*, or *ſchools*.

It

* The ſudden breaking out of the war between the Turks and Ruſſians, in conſequence of an unexpected attack made by the former on the latter concurred with ſome other incidents in putting a ſtop to the deſign. The perſon here ſpoken of, at that time Lieut. Col. Commandant of a batallion in the Empreſs's ſervice, having obtained a regiment and other honours for his ſervices in the courſe of the war, is now ſtationed with his regiment in a diſtant part of the country.

It is obvious that, in all theſe inſtances, the more conſtantly the perſons to be inſpected are under the eyes of the perſons who ſhould inſpect them, the more perfectly will the purpoſe of the eſtabliſhment have been attained. Ideal perfection, if that were the object, would require that each perſon ſhould actually be in that predicament, during every inſtant of time. This being impoſſible, the next thing to be wiſhed for is, that, at every inſtant, ſeeing reaſon to believe as much, and not being able to ſatisfy himſelf to the contrary, he ſhould *conceive* himſelf to be ſo. This point, you will immediately ſee, is moſt compleatly ſecured by my brother's plan; and, I think, it will appear equally manifeſt, that it cannot be compaſſed by any other, or to ſpeak more properly that if it be compaſſed by any other, it can only be in proportion as ſuch other may approach to this.

To cut the matter as ſhort as poſſible, I will conſider it at once in its application to ſuch purpoſes as, being moſt complicated, will ſerve to exemplify the greateſt force and variety of precautionary contrivance. Such are thoſe which have ſuggeſted the idea of *Penitentiary-houſes*: in which the objects of *ſafe-cuſtody*, *confinement*, *ſolitude*, *forced labour* and *inſtruction*, were all of them to be kept in view. If all theſe objects can be accompliſhed together, of courſe with at leaſt equal certainty and facility may any leſſer number of them.

LETTER II.

Plan for a Penitentiary Inſpection-houſe.

BEFORE you look at the plan, take in words the general idea of it.

The building is circular.

The apartments of the priſoners occupy the circumference. You may call them, if you pleaſe, the *cells*.

Theſe *cells* are divided from one another, and the priſoners by that means ſecluded from all communication with each other, by *partitions* in the form of *radii* iſſuing from the circumference towards the center, and extending as many feet as ſhall be thought neceſſary to form the largeſt dimenſion of the cell.

The apartment of the inſpector occupies the center: you may call it if you pleaſe the *Inſpector's lodge*.

It will be convenient in moſt, if not in all caſes, to have a vacant ſpace or *area* all round, between ſuch

ſuch center and ſuch circumference. You may call it if you pleaſe the *intermediate* or *annular* area.

About the width of a cell may be ſufficient for a *paſſage* from the outſide of the building to the lodge.

Each cell has in the outward circumference, a *window*, large enough, not only to light the cell, but, through the cell, to afford light enough to the correſpondent part of the lodge.

The inner circumference of the cell is formed by an iron *grating*, ſo light as not to ſcreen any part of the cell from the Inſpector's view.

Of this grating a part ſufficiently large opens, in form of a *door*, to admit the priſoner at his firſt entrance; and to give admiſſion at any time to the inſpector or any of his attendants.

To cut off from each priſoner the view of every other, the partitions are carried on a few feet beyond the grating into the intermediate area; ſuch projecting parts I call the *protracted partitions*.

It is conceived, that the light, coming in, in this manner through the cells, and ſo acroſs the intermediate area, will be ſufficient for the inſpector's lodge. But, for this purpoſe, both the windows

dows in the cells, and thoſe correſponding to them in the lodge, ſhould be as large as the ſtrength of the building, and what ſhall be deemed a neceſſary attention to economy, will permit.

To the windows of the lodge there are *blinds*, as high up as the eyes of the priſoners in their cells can, by any means they can employ, be made to reach.

To prevent *thorough light*, whereby notwithſtanding the blinds, the priſoners would ſee from the cells whether or no any perſon was in the lodge, that apartment is divided into quarters, by *partitions* formed by two diameters to the circle, croſſing each other at right angles. For theſe partitions the thinneſt materials might ſerve: and they might be made removeable at pleaſure; their height, ſufficient to prevent the priſoners ſeeing over them from the cells. Doors to theſe partitions, if left open at any time, might produce the thorough light: To prevent this, divide each partition into two, at any part required, ſetting down the one-half, at ſuch diſtance from the other, as ſhall be equal to the aperture of a door.

Theſe windows of the inſpector's lodge open into the intermediate area, in form of *doors*, in as many places as ſhall be deemed neceſſary to admit of his communicating readily with any of the cells.

Small

Small *lamps*, in the outſide of each window of the lodge, backed by a reflector, to throw the light into the correſponding cells, would extend to the night the ſecurity of the day.

To ſave the troubleſome exertion of voice, that might otherwiſe be neceſſary, and to prevent one priſoner from knowing, that the inſpector was occupied by another priſoner at a diſtance, a ſmall *tin tube* might reach from each cell to the inſpector's lodge, paſſing acroſs the area, and ſo in, at the ſide of the correſpondent window of the lodge. By means of this implement, the ſlighteſt whiſper of the one might be heard by the other, eſpecially if he had proper notice to apply his ear to the tube.

With regard to *inſtruction*, in caſes where it cannot be duly given without the inſtructor's being cloſe to the work, or without ſetting his hand to it by way of example before the learner's face, the inſtructor muſt indeed here as elſewhere, ſhift his ſtation as often as there is occaſion to viſit different workmen: unleſs he calls the workmen to him, which in ſome of the inſtances to which this ſort of building is applicable, ſuch as that of impriſoned felons, could not ſo well be. But in all caſes where directions, given verbally and at a diſtance, are ſufficient, theſe tubes will be found of uſe. They will ſave, on the one hand the exertion

exertion of voice it would require, on the part of the inſtructor, to communicate inſtruction to the workmen without quitting his central ſtation in the lodge; and, on the other, the confuſion which would enſue, if different inſtructors, or perſons in the lodge, were calling to the cells at the ſame time. And, in the caſe of hoſpitals, the quiet that may be inſured by this little contrivance, trifling as it may ſeem at firſt ſight, affords an additional advantage.

A *bell* appropriated excluſively to the purpoſes of *alarm*, hangs in a *belfry* with which the buildings is crowned, communicating by a rope, with the inſpector's lodge.

The moſt economical, and perhaps the moſt convenient, way of *warming* the cells and area, would be by *flues* furrounding it, upon the principle of thoſe in hot houſes. A total want of every means of producing artificial heat might, in ſuch weather as we ſometimes have in England, be fatal to the lives of the priſoners: at any rate it would oftentimes be altogether incompatible with their working at any ſedentary employment. The flues, however, and the fire places belonging to them, inſtead of being on the outſide, as in hot houſes, ſhould be in the inſide. By this means there would be leſs waſte of heat, and the current

of

of air that would ruſh in on all ſides through the cells, to ſupply the draught made by the fires, would anſwer ſo far the purpoſe of ventilation. But of this more under the head of Hoſpitals. *.

* There is one ſubject, which, though not of the moſt dignified kind, nor of the moſt pleaſant kind to expatiate upon, is of too great importance to health and ſafe-cuſtody to be paſſed over unconſidered: I mean the proviſion to be made for carrying off the reſult of neceſſary evacuations; a common neceſſary might be dangerous to ſecurity, and would be altogether incompatible with the plan of ſolitude. To have the filth carried off by the attendants, would be altogether as incompatible with cleanlineſs: ſince without ſuch a degree of regularity as it would be difficult, if not ridiculous, to attempt to inforce in caſe of health, and altogether impoſſible in caſe of ſickneſs, the air of each cell, and by that means the lodge itſelf would be liable to be kept in a ſtate of conſtant contamination, in the intervals betwixt one viſit and another. This being the caſe, I can ſee no other eligible means, than that of having in each cell a fixt proviſion made for this purpoſe in the conſtruction of the building.

Betwixt every other two cells, at the end of the partition which divides them, a hollow ſhaft or tunnel is left in the brickwork of the exterior wall; which tunnel, if there be ſeveral ſtories to the building, is carried up through all of them.

Into this tunnel is inſerted under each cell, the bottom of an EARTHEN PIPE (like thoſe applied in England to the tops of chimneys) glazed in the inſide. The upper end, opening into the cell, is covered by a ſeat of caſt-iron, bedded into the brick work; with an aperture, which, neither by its ſize nor ſhape, ſhall be capable of admitting the body of a man. To gain the tunnel from the inſide of the cell, the poſition of this pipe will of courſe be ſlanting. At the bottom of the tunnel, on the outſide of the building an arched opening, ſo low as ſcarcely to be diſcernable, admits of the filth being carried away. No one, who has been at all attentive to the hiſtory of priſons, but muſt have obſerved, how often eſcapes have been effected or attempted through this channel.

A ſlight ſcreen, which the priſoner might occaſionally interpoſe, may, perhaps not, be thought ſuperfluous. This, while

it anſwers the purpoſe of decency, might be ſo adjuſted as to prevent his concealing from the eye of the inſpector any forbidden enterprize.

For each cell, the whole apparatus would not come to many ſhillings: a ſmall conſideration for a great degree of ſecurity. In this manner, without any relaxation of the diſcipline, the advantages of cleanlineſs, and its concomitant health, may be attained to as great a degree as in moſt private houſes.

It would be regarded perhaps, as a luxury too great for an eſtabliſhment of this kind, were I to venture to propoſe the addition of a WATER PIPE all round, with a cock to it in each cell. The clear expence would, however not be quite ſo great as it might ſeem: ſince by this means a conſiderable quantity of attendance would be ſaved. To each priſoner, ſome allowance of water muſt neceſſarily be afforded, if it were only for drink, without regard to cleanlineſs. To forward that allowance by hand to two or three hundred priſoners in ſo many different apartments, might perhaps be as much as one man could do, if conſtantly employed. For the raiſing the water by pumps to the neceſſary elevation, the labour of the priſoners would ſuffice.

As to the MATERIALS, brick, as every body knows, would be the cheapeſt in *****, and either brick or ſtone, in every other part of England. Thus much as to the ſhell. But in a building calculated for duration, as this would be, the expence of allowing the ſame materials to the FLOORS, and laying them upon ARCHES, would, I imagine, not be deemed an unſuitable one: eſpecially when the advantage of a perfect ſecurity from fire is taken into the account.

LETTER

LETTER III.

Extent for a ſingle Building.

So far as to the characteriſtic parts of the principle of conſtruction. You may now perhaps, be curious to know, to what *extent* a building upon this principle is capable of being carried, conſiſtently with the various purpoſes to which it may come to be applied. Upon this ſubject, to ſpeak with confidence belongs only to architects by profeſſion. Indulge me however with a few words at a venture.

As to the *cells*, they will of courſe be more or leſs ſpacious, according to the employment which it is deſigned ſhould be carried on in them.

As to the *whole building*, if it be too ſmall, the circumference will not be large enough to afford a ſufficient number of cells: if too large the depth from the exterior windows will be too great; and there will not be light enough in the lodge.

As to this individual building of my brother's, the dimenſions of it were determined by the conſideration

ſideration of the moſt convenient ſcantlings of the timbers (that being in his ſituation the cheapeſt material) and by other local conſiderations. It is to have two ſtories, and the diameter of the whole building is to be 100 feet out and out.

Merely to help conception, I will take this ſize for an example of ſuch a building as he would propoſe for England.

Taking the diameter 100 feet, this admits of 48 *cells*, 6 feet wide each at the outſide, walls included: with a *paſſage* through the building of 8 or nine feet.

I begin with ſuppoſing two ſtories of cells.

In the *under* ſtory, thickneſs of the walls $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

From thence clear *depth* of each cell, from the window, to the grating, 13 feet.

From thence to the ends of the *partition walls*, 3 feet more; which gives the length of the *protracted partitions*.

Breadth of the *intermediate area*, 14 feet.

Total from the *outſide* of the building to the *lodge*, $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The

The double of this, 65 feet, leaves, for the *diameter of the lodge*, 35 feet; including the thickneſs of its walls.

In the *upper* ſtory, the *cells* will be but 9 feet deep; the difference between that and the 13 feet, which is their depth in the under ſtory, being taken up by a *gallery*, which ſurrounds the protracted partitions.

This gallery ſupplies, in the upper ſtory, the place of an intermediate area on that floor; and by means of *ſteps*, which I ſhall come to preſently, forms the communication between the upper ſtory of cells to which it is attached, and the lower ſtory of the cells, together with the intermediate area and the lodge.

The ſpot moſt remote from the place where the light comes in from, I mean the *centrical* ſpot of the building and of the lodge, will not be more than 50 feet diſtant from that place: a diſtance not greater, I imagine, than what is often times exemplified in churches; even in ſuch as are not furniſhed in the manner of this building with windows in every part of the eaſtern boundary. But the inſpector's *windows* will not be more than about $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the open light.

It would be found convenient, I believe, on many accounts, and in moſt inſtances, to make

one

one ſtory of the *lodge* ſerve for *two ſtories* of the *cells:* eſpecially in any ſituation where ground is valuable, the number of perſons to be inſpected large, the room neceſſary for each perſon not very conſiderable, and frugality and neceſſity more attended to than appearance.

For this purpoſe, the *floor* of the *ground ſtory of the lodge* is elevated to within about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the floor of the *firſt ſtory* of the *cells.* By this means the inſpector's eye, when he ſtands up, will be on, or a little above, the level of the floor of the above mentioned upper ſtory of the cells: and, at any rate, he will command both that and the ground ſtory of the cells, without difficulty, and without change of poſture.

As to the *intermediate area*, the *floor* of it is upon a level, not with the *floor* of the *lodge*, but with that of the *lower ſtory* of the cells. But, at the *upper* ſtory of the cells, its place, as I have already mentioned, is ſupplied by the above mentioned *gallery:* ſo that the altitude of this area from the floor to the cieling, is equal to that of both ſtories of the cells put together.

The floor of the lodge, not being on a level with either ſtory of the cells but between both, it muſt at convenient intervals be provided with flights of *ſteps;* to go *down* to the ground ſtory of

of the cells by the intermediate area, and *up* to the firſt floor of the cells by the gallery. The aſcending flights, joined to the *deſcending*, enable the ſervants of the houſe to go to the upper ſtory of the cells, without paſſing through the apartment of the inſpector.

As to the *height* of the whole, and of the ſeveral parts, it is ſuppoſed that 18 feet might ſerve for *the two ſtories of cells*, to be inſpected, as above, by *one ſtory* of the *lodge:* This would hold 96 perſons:

36 feet for four ſtories of cells, and two of the lodge: this would hold 192 perſons:

54 feet for ſix ſtories of the cells, and three of the lodge: this would hold 288 perſons:

And 54 feet, it is conceived, would not be an immoderate elevation.

The drawings which, I believe, will accompany this, ſuppoſe *four* for the number of ſtories of the cells.

You will ſee, under the head of Hoſpitals, the reaſons why I conceive that even a leſs height than 9 feet, deducting the thickneſs of a floor ſupported by arches, might be ſufficient for the cells.

The

The *paſſage* might have, for its *height*, either the height of one ſtory, or of two ſtories of the cells, according as the number of thoſe cells was two or four. The part over the paſſage might, in either caſe, be added to the lodge, to which it would thereby give a communication, at each end, with the world without doors, and enſure a keeper againſt the danger of finding himſelf a priſoner among his priſoners.

Should it be thought that, in this way, the lodge would not have light enough, for the convenience of a man of a ſtation competent to the office, the deficiency might be ſupplied, by a void ſpace, left in that part, all the way up. You may call it if you pleaſe the *central area*. Into this ſpace windows may open, where they are wanted, from the apartments of the lodge. It may be either left *open* at the top or covered with a *ſky-light*. But this expedient, though it might add, in ſome reſpects, to the convenience of the lodge, could not but add conſiderably to the quantity and expence of the building.

On the other hand it would be aſſiſtant to ventilation. Here too would be a proper place for the *chapel*: the priſoners remaining in their cells; and the windows of the lodge which is almoſt all window, being thrown open. The advantages derivable from it in point of light and ventilation depending

depending upon its being kept vacant, it can never be wanted for any profane uſe. It may therefore with the greater propriety be allotted to divine ſervice and receive a regular conſecration. The *pulpit* and *ſounding-board* may be moveable during the term of ſervice, the ſky-light, at all other times kept as open as poſſible, might be ſhut.

LETTER IV.

The principle extended to uncovered areas.

IN my two laſt letters, I gave you ſuch idea as it was in my power to give you by words, of this new plan of conſtruction, conſidered in its moſt *ſimple* form. A few more with regard to what further *extenſions* it may admit of.

The utmoſt number of perſons that could be ſtowed in a ſingle building of this ſort conſiſtently with the purpoſes of each ſeveral inſtitution being aſcertained, to increaſe the number, that of the buildings muſt of courſe be encreaſed. Suppoſe *two* of theſe *rotundas* requiſite: theſe two might, *by a covered gallery* conſtructed upon the ſame principles, be conſolidated into one Inſpection-houſe. And by the help of ſuch a covered gallery the *field of inſpection* might be dilated to any extent.

If

If the number of rotundas were extended to *four*, a regular uncovered area might in that way be incloſed: and, being ſurrounded by covered galleries, would be commanded in this manner from all ſides, inſtead of being commanded only from one.

The area thus incloſed might be either *circular* like the buildings, or *ſquare*, or *oblong*, as one or other of thoſe forms were beſt adapted to the prevailing ideas of beauty or local convenience. A chain of any length, compoſed of inſpection-houſes adapted to the ſame or different purpoſes, might in this way be carried round an area of any extent.

On ſuch a plan, either one inſpector might ſerve for two or more rotundas, or, if there were one to each, *the inſpective force*, if I may uſe the expreſſion, would be greater in ſuch a compound building than in any of the number, ſingly taken, of which it was compoſed: ſince each inſpector might be relieved occaſionally by every other.

In the uncovered area thus brought within the field of inſpection, any out-door employments, or any employments requiring a greater covered ſpace than the general form of conſtruction will allow, might be carried on upon the ſame principle. A kitchen garden, might then be cultivated, for the

uſe

uſe of the whole ſociety, by a few members of it at a time, to whom ſuch an opportunity of airing and exerciſing themſelves would be a refreſhment and indulgence.

Many writers have expatiated, with great force and juſtice, on the unpopular and unedifying caſt of that undiſtinguiſhing diſcipline, which, in ſituation and treatment, confounds the lot of thoſe who *may* prove innocent with the lot of thoſe who *have* been proved to be guilty. The ſame roof, it has been ſaid, ought not to incloſe perſons, who ſtand in predicaments ſo diſſimilar. In a combination of inſpection-houſes, this delicacy might be obſerved, without any abatement of that vigilance with regard to ſafe cuſtody, which in both caſes is equally indiſpenſable.

LETTER

LETTER V.

Eſſential points of the Plan.

IT may be of uſe, among all the particulars you have ſeen, it ſhould be clearly underſtood, what circumſtances are, and what are not, eſſential to the plan. The eſſence of it conſiſts then, in the *centrality* of the inſpectors ſituation, combined with the well known and moſt effectual contrivances for *ſeeing without being ſeen.* As to the *general form* of the building, the moſt commodious for moſt purpoſes ſeems to be the circular: but this is not an abſolutely eſſential circumſtance. Of all figures, however, this, you will obſerve, is the only one that affords a perfect view, and the ſame view, of an indefinite number of apartments of the ſame dimenſions: that affords a ſpot from which, without any change of ſituation, a a man may ſurvey, in the ſame perfection, the whole number, and without ſo much as a change of poſture, the half of the whole number, at the ſame time: that, within a boundary of a given extent, contains the greateſt quantity of room:—

that

that places the center at the leaſt diſtance from the light:—that gives the cells moſt width, at the part where, on account of the light, moſt light may, for the purpoſes of work, be wanted:—and that reduces to the greateſt poſſible ſhortneſs the path taken by the inſpector, in paſſing from each part of the field of inſpection to every other.

You will pleaſe to obſerve, that, though perhaps, it is the moſt important point, that the perſons to be inſpected ſhould always feel themſelves as if under inſpection, at leaſt as ſtanding a great chance of being ſo, yet it is not by any means the *only* one. If it were, the ſame advantage might be given to buildings of almoſt any form. What is alſo of importance is, that for the greateſt proportion of time poſſible, each man ſhould actually *be* under inſpection. This is material in *all* caſes, that the inſpector may have the ſatisfaction of knowing, that the diſcipline actually has the effect which it is deſigned to have: and it is more particularly material in ſuch caſes where the inſpector, beſides ſeeing that they conform to ſuch ſtanding rules as are preſcribed, has more or leſs frequent occaſion to give them ſuch tranſient and incidental directions as will require to be given and enforced, at the commencement at leaſt, of every courſe of induſtry. And, I think, it needs not much argument to prove, that the buſineſs of inſpection, like every

every other, will be performed to a greater degree of perfection, the leſs trouble the performance of it requires.

Not only ſo, but the greater chance there is, of a given perſon's being at a given time actually under inſpection, the more ſtrong will be the perſuaſion the more *intenſe*, if I may ſo ſay, the *feeling*, he has of his being ſo. How little turn ſoever the greater number of perſons ſo circumſtanced may be ſuppoſed to have for calculation, ſome rough ſort of calculation can ſcarcely, under ſuch circumſtances avoid forcing itſelf upon the rudeſt mind. Experiment, venturing firſt upon ſlight tranſgreſſions, and ſo on, in proportion to ſucceſs, upon more and more conſiderable ones, will not fail to teach him the difference between a looſe inſpection and a ſtrict one.

It is for theſe reaſons, that I cannot help looking upon every form as leſs and leſs eligible, in proportion as it deviates from the *circular*.

A very material point is, that room be allotted to the lodge, ſufficient to adapt it to the purpoſe of a compleat and conſtant habitation for the principal inſpector, or head keeper, and his family. The more numerous alſo the family, the better; ſince, by this means, there will in fact be as many inſpectors as the family conſiſts of perſons, though only

only one be paid for it. Neither the orders of the inſpector himſelf, nor any intereſt which they may feel, or not feel, in the regular performance of his duty, would be requiſite to find them motives adequate to the purpoſe. Secluded oftentimes, by their ſituation, from every other object, they will naturally, and in a manner unavoidably give their eyes a direction conformable to that purpoſe, in every momentary interval of their ordinary occupations. It will ſupply in their inſtance the place of that great and conſtant fund of entertainment to the ſedentary and vacant in towns, the looking out of the window. The ſcene, though a confined, would be a very various, and therefore perhaps not altogether an unamuſing one.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

Advantages of the Plan.

I FLATTER myſelf there can now be little doubt, of the plan's poſſeſſing the fundamental advantages I have been attributing to it, I mean the *apparent omnipreſence* of the inſpector (if divines will allow me the expreſſion) combined with the extreme facility of his *real preſence*.

A collateral advantage it poſſeſſes, and on the ſcore of frugality a very material one, is that which reſpects the *number* of the inſpectors requiſite. If this plan required more than another, the additional number would form an objection which, were the difference to a certain degree conſiderable, might riſe ſo high as to be concluſive; ſo far from it, that a greater multitude than ever were yet lodged in one houſe might be inſpected by a ſingle perſon. For the trouble of inſpection is diminiſhed in no leſs proportion than the ſtrictneſs of inſpection is increaſed.

Another very important advantage, whatever purpoſes the plan may be applied to, particularly where it is applied to the ſevereſt and moſt coercive purpoſes, is, that the *under* keepers or inſpectors, the ſervants and ſubordinates of every kind, will be under the ſame irreſiſtible controul with reſpect to the *head* keeper or inſpector, as the priſoners or other perſons to be governed are with reſpect to *them*. On the common plans, what means, what poſſibility, has the priſoner, of appealing to the humanity of the principal for redreſs, againſt the neglect or oppreſſion of ſubordinates in that rigid ſphere, but the *few* opportunities which, in a crowded priſon, the moſt conſcientious keeper *can* afford—but the none at all which many a keeper *thinks* fit to give them? How different would their lot be upon this plan!

In no inſtance could his ſubordinates either perform or depart from their duty, but he muſt know the time and degree and manner of their doing ſo. It preſents an anſwer, and that a ſatisfactory one, to one of the moſt puzzling of political queſtions, *quis cuſtodiet ipſos cuſtodes?* and, as the fulfilling of his, as well as their, duty would be rendered ſo much eaſier, than it can ever have been hitherto, ſo might, and ſo ſhould, any departure from it be puniſhed with the more inflexible ſeverity. It is this circumſtance that renders the influence

of

of this plan not leſs beneficial to what is called *Liberty* than to neceſſary coercion; not leſs powerful as a controul upon ſubordinate power, than as a curb to delinquency; as a ſhield to innocence than as a ſcourge to guilt.

Another advantage, ſtill operating to the ſame ends, is the great load of trouble and diſguſt, which it takes off the ſhoulders of thoſe occaſional inſpectors of a higher order, ſuch as *judges*, and other *magiſtrates*, who called down to this irkſome taſk from the ſuperior ranks of life, cannot but feel a proportionable repugnance to the diſcharge of it. Think how it is with them upon the preſent plans, and how it ſtill muſt be, upon the beſt plans that have been hitherto deviſed! The cells or apartments, however conſtructed, muſt, if there be nine hundred of them, (as there were to have been upon the penitentiary houſe plan) be opened to the viſitors, one by one. To do their buſineſs to any purpoſe, they muſt approach near to, and come almoſt in contact with, each inhabitant: whoſe ſituation being watched over according to no other than the looſe methods of inſpection at preſent practicable, will on that account require the more minute and troubleſome inveſtigation on the part of theſe occaſional ſuperintendants. By this new plan, the diſguſt is intirely removed; and the trouble of going into ſuch a

room

room as the lodge, is no more than the trouble of going into any other.

Were *Newgate* upon this plan, all Newgate might be inſpected by a quarter of an hour's viſit to Mr. *Akerman*.

Among the other cauſes of that reluctance, none at preſent ſo forcible, none ſo unhappily well grounded, none which affords ſo natural an excuſe, nor ſo ſtrong a reaſon againſt accepting of any excuſe, as the danger of *infection*: a circumſtance, which carries death, in one of its moſt tremendous forms from the ſeat of guilt to the ſeat of juſtice, involving in one common cataſtrophe the violator and the upholder of the laws. But in a ſpot ſo conſtructed, and under a courſe of diſcipline ſo inſured, how ſhould infection ever ariſe? or how ſhould it continue? againſt every danger of this kind, what private houſe of the poor, one might almoſt ſay, or even of the moſt opulent, can be equally ſecure?

Nor is the diſagreeableneſs of the taſk of ſuperintendance diminiſhed by this plan, in a much greater degree than the efficacy of it is increaſed. On all others, be the ſuperintendant's viſit ever ſo unexpected, and his motions ever ſo quick, time there muſt always be for preparations, blinding the real ſtate of things. Out of nine hundred

cells

cells he can viſit but one at a time, and, in the mean while, the worſt of the others may be arranged, and the inhabitants threatened, and tutored how to receive him. On this plan, no ſooner is the ſuperintendant announced, than the whole ſcene opens inſtantaneouſly to his view.

In mentioning inſpectors and ſuperintendants who are ſuch by office, I muſt not overlook that ſyſtem of inſpection, which, however little heeded, will not be the leſs uſeful and efficacious; I mean the part which individuals may be diſpoſed to take in the buſineſs, without intending perhaps, or even without thinking of, any other effects of their viſits, than the gratification of their own particular curioſity. What the inſpector's or keeper's family are with reſpect to *him*, that, and more, will theſe ſpontaneous viſitors be to the ſuperintendant; aſſiſtants, deputies in ſo far as he is faithful, witneſſes and judges, ſhould he ever be unfaithful, to his truſt. So as they are but there, what the motives were that drew them thither, is perfectly immaterial; whether the relieving of their anxieties by the affecting proſpect of their reſpective friends and relatives thus detained in durance, or merely the ſatisfying that general curioſity, which an eſtabliſhment on various accounts ſo intereſting to human feelings, may naturally be expected to excite.

You

You ſee, I take for granted as a matter of courſe, that under the neceſſary regulations for preventing interruption and diſturbance, the doors of theſe eſtabliſhments will be, as, without very ſpecial reaſons to the contrary, the doors of all public eſtabliſhments ought to be, thrown wide open to the body of the curious at large :—the great *open committee* of the tribunal of the world. And who ever objects to ſuch publicity where it is practicable, but thoſe whoſe motives for objection afford the ſtrongeſt reaſons for it.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

Penitentiary-houſes——Safe Cuſtody.

DECOMPOSING the plan, I will now take the liberty of offering you a few ſeparate conſiderations, applicable to the different purpoſes, to which it appears capable of being applied.

A *Penitentiary-houſe* more particularly is, (I am ſorry I muſt correct myſelf, and ſay *was* to have been) what every priſon might, and in ſome degree at leaſt ought to be, deſigned at once as a place of *ſafe cuſtody*, and a place of *labour*. Every ſuch place muſt neceſſarily be, whether deſigned or not, an *Hoſpital:* a place where ſickneſs will be found at leaſt, whether proviſion be or be not made for its relief. I will conſider this plan in its application to theſe three diſtinguiſhable purpoſes.

Againſt *eſcapes*, and in particular on the part of felons of every deſcription, as well before as after conviction, perſons from the deſperateneſs of whoſe ſituation attempts to eſcape are more particularly to be apprehended, it would afford, as I dare

dare ſay you ſee already, a degree of ſecurity, which perhaps has been ſcarce hitherto reached by conception, much leſs by practice. Overpowering the guard requires an union of hands, and a concert among minds. But what union, or what concert, can there be among perſons, no one of whom will have ſet eyes on any other from the firſt moment of his entrance? Undermining walls, forcing iron bars, requires commonly a concert, always a length of time exempt from interruption. But who would think of beginning a work of hours and days, without any tolerable proſpect of making ſo much as the firſt motion towards it unobſerved? Such attempts have been ſeldom made without the aſſiſtance of implements introduced by accomplices from without. But who would expoſe themſelves even to the ſlighteſt puniſhment, or even to the mortification of the diſappointment, without ſo much as a tolerable chance of eſcaping inſtantaneous detection? Who would think of bringing in before the keeper's face, ſo much as a ſmall file, or a phial of *aqua fortis*, to a perſon not prepared to receive any ſuch thing, nor in a condition to make uſe of it? * Upon all plans hitherto

* Should ſuch ſtrictneſs be thought requiſite, viſitors if admitted into the intermediate area, might be precluded by a rail, from approaching nearer than to a certain diſtance from the cells; and, in ſome caſes all converſation between them and the priſoners might be interdicted altogether. The propriety of ſuch a regulation, may be thought to ſtand upon a different footing, according as the confinement were previous or ſubſequent to conviction, and according to the nature of the offence and the intended ſeverity of the puniſhment.

hitherto purſued, the thickeſt walls have been found occaſionally unavailing; upon this plan, the thinneſt would be ſufficient: a circumſtance which muſt operate, in a ſtriking degree, towards a diminution of the expence.

In this, as in every other application of the plan, you will find its lenient, not leſs conſpicuous than its coercive tendency; inſomuch that, if you were to be aſked, who had moſt cauſe to wiſh for its adoption, you might find yourſelf at ſome loſs to determine, between the malefactors themſelves, and thoſe for whoſe ſake they are conſigned to puniſhment.

In this view I am ſure you cannot overlook the effect which it would have in rendering unneceſſary that inexhauſtible fund of diſproportionate, too often needleſs, and always unpopular ſeverity, not to ſay extortion, the uſe of *irons*. Confined in one of theſe cells, every motion of the limbs, and every muſcle of the face expoſed to view, what pretence could there be for expoſing to this hardſhip the moſt boiſterous malefactor? Indulged with perfect liberty within the ſpace allotted to him, in what worſe way could he vent his rage than by beating his head againſt the walls? and who but himſelf would be a ſufferer by ſuch folly? Noiſe, the only offence by which a man thus en-

caged could render himſelf troubleſome (an offence by the bye againſt which irons themſelves afford no ſecurity) might, if found otherwiſe incorrigible, be ſubdued by *gagging:* a moſt natural and efficacious mode of prevention as well as puniſhment, the proſpect of which would probably be for ever ſufficient, to render the infliction of it unneceſſary. Puniſhment, even its moſt hideous forms, loſes its odious character, when bereft of that *uncertainty*, without which the raſheſt deſperado would not expoſe himſelf to its ſtroke. If an inſtance be wanted, think what the means are, which the ſo much admired law of England makes uſe of, and that in one of its moſt admired branches, to work, not upon criminals, but upon its favorite claſs of judges? what but death? and that no common death, but death the ſlow but neceſſary reſult of lingering torture. And yet, whatever other reproach the law may be thought to merit, in what inſtance was it ever ſeen to expoſe itſelf in this way to the reproach of cruelty?

LETTER VIII.

Uſes—Penitentiary-houſes—Reformation.

IN my laſt, I endeavoured to ſtate to you the advantages which a receptacle, upon the plan of the propoſed building ſeemed to promiſe, in its application to places of *confinement*, conſidered merely in that view. Give me leave now to conſider it as applicable to the joint purpoſes of *puniſhment*, *reformation*, and *pecuniary economy*.

That, in regard to perſons of the deſcription of thoſe to whom puniſhments of the nature in queſtion are deſtined, ſolitude is in its nature ſubſervient to the purpoſe of reformation, ſeems to be as little diſputed, as its tendency to operate in addition to the maſs of ſufferance. But, that upon this plan that purpoſe would be effected, at leaſt as completely as it could be on any other, you cannot but ſee at the firſt glance, or rather you muſt have obſerved already. In the condition of *our* priſoners (for ſo I will call them for ſhortneſs ſake) you may ſee the ſtudents paradox, *nunquam minus*

minus ſolus quam cùm ſolus realized in a new way; to the keeper, a *multitude*, though not a *crowd*; to themſelves, they are *ſolitary* and *ſequeſtered* individuals.

What is more, you will ſee this purpoſe anſwered more compleatly by this plan, than it could poſſibly be on any other. What degree of ſolitude it was propoſed to reduce them to in the once intended Penitentiary-houſes, need not be conſidered. But for one purpoſe, in buildings of any mode of conſtruction that could then and there have been in view, it would have been neceſſary, according to the expreſs regulations of that plan, that the law of ſolitude ſhould be diſpenſed with: I mean, ſo often as the priſoners were to receive the benefits of attendance on Divine Service. But in my brother's circular Penitentiary-houſes, they might receive theſe benefits, in every circumſtance, without ſtirring from their cells. No thronging, nor joſtling, in the way between the ſcene of work, and the ſcene deſtined to devotion: no quarrellings, nor confederatings, nor plottings to eſcape: nor yet any whips or fetters to prevent it.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

Penitentiary-houſes—Economy—Contract—Plan.

I AM come now to the article of *pecuniary economy;* and as this is the great rock upon which the original Penitentiary-plan, I underſtand has ſplit, I cannot reſiſt the temptation of throwing out a few hints relative to the mode of management, which I look upon as the moſt eligible in this view; but which could not as you will ſee have been eſtabliſhed with any thing like the advantage, upon any other ground than that of my brother's inſpection principle.

To come to the point at once, I would do the whole by *contract.* I would farm out the profits, the no-profits, or if you pleaſe the loſſes, to him who, being in other reſpects unexceptionable, offered the beſt terms. Undertaking an enterprize new in its extent, in the deſcription of the perſons to be ſubjected to his management, and in many other circumſtances, his ſucceſs in it, if he does ſucceed, may be regarded in the light of an invention;

tion; and rewarded accordingly, juſt as ſucceſs in in other inventions is rewarded, by the profit which a monopoly ſecured by patent enables a man to make: and that in proportion to the ſucceſs which conſtitutes their merit. He ſhould have it during *good behaviour:* which you know is as much as to ſay, unleſs ſpecific inſtances of miſbehaviour flagrant enough to render his removal expedient be proved on him in a legal way, he ſhall have it for his *life*. Beſides that when thus ſecured he can afford to give the better price for his bargain, you will preſently ſee more material reaſons, to counterbalance the ſeeming unthriftineſs of granting him a term, which may prove ſo long a one. In other reſpects, the terms of the contract muſt, of courſe, depend upon the proportion of capital, of which the contract gave him the uſe. Suppoſing the advance to amount to the whole manufacturing ſtock, he muſt of courſe, either pay ſomething for his contract, or be contented with a *ſhare* of the groſs profits, inſtead of the whole, unleſs that from ſuch profits an intereſt upon the capital ſo advanced to him ſhould be deducted: in which caſe, nobody, I ſuppoſe would grudge him the whole neat profit after ſuch deduction, even though the rate of intereſt were much below the ordinary one: the difference, between ſuch reduced rate of intereſt and the ordinary one would conſtitute the whole of the expence which the public would be at.

Suppoſe,

Suppoſe, to ſpeak at random, this expence were to amount to 6, 8, or 10,000*l.* a year for the 3000 convicts which it was computed, would be the ſtanding number, to be maintained in England*. I ſhould not imagine, that ſuch a ſum as even this latter would be much grudged. I fancy the intended expedition to Botany Bay, of which I am juſt appriſed, will be rather more expenſive. Not that it appears to me that the nation would remain ſaddled with ſuch an expence as this at the long run; or, indeed with any part of it. But of this hereafter.

In the next place I would give my contractor all the *powers* that his intereſt could prompt him to wiſh for, in order to enable him to make the moſt of his bargain; with only ſome ſlight reſervations, which I will mention afterwards: for very ſlight ones you will find they will be, that can be needful or even ſerviceable in the view of preventing abuſe.

But, the greater latitude he has in taking ſuch meaſures, the leſs will he grudge the letting it be known, what the meaſures are which he *does* take; knowing, at the ſame time, that no advantage can be taken of ſuch knowledge, by turning him out in

* According to the Hard-Labour Bill, 2865. See the table to my View of that Bill: ſince then, I fear, the number has rather increaſed than diminiſhed.

in caſe of his ſucceſs, and putting in another to reap the fruits of his contrivance. I will then re-require him to *diſcloſe*, and even to print and *publiſh*, his accounts:—the whole proceſs and detail of his management:—the whole hiſtory of the priſon. I will require him, I ſay, on pain of forfeiture or other adequate puniſhment, to publiſh theſe accounts, and that upon oath. I have no fear of his not publiſhing *ſome* accounts, becauſe, if the time is elapſed and ſome accounts not publiſhed, a fact not liable to diſpute, the puniſhment takes place of courſe: and I have not much fear that the accounts when publiſhed will not be *true*: becauſe, having power to do every thing that is for his advantage, there is nothing which it is his intereſt to conceal; and the intereſt which the puniſhment for perjury gives him not to conceal is manifeſt: more eſpecially as I make him examinable and croſs-examinable *viva voce* upon oath at any time.

It is for clearing away as much as poſſible, every motive of pecuniary intereſt, that could prompt him to throw any kind of cloak or reſerve upon any of his expedients for encreaſing his profits, that I would enſure them to him for *life*.

From the information thus got from him, I derive this advantage. In the caſe of his *ill* ſucceſs, I ſee the cauſes of it: and not only I, but every body

body elſe that pleaſes, may ſee the cauſes of it: and amongſt the reſt, thoſe who, in caſe of their taking the management out of his hands, would have an intereſt in being acquainted with ſuch cauſes, in order to obviate or avoid them. More than that, if his ill ſucceſs is owing to incapacity, and that incapacity ſuch as, if continued, might raiſe my expence above the calculation, I can make him ſtop in time; a meaſure, to which he can have as little objection as myſelf; for it is one advantage of this plan, that whatever miſchief happens muſt have more than eat out all *his* profits before it reaches *me*.

In the caſe of his good ſucceſs, I ſee the cauſes of that too; and every body ſees them, as before: and, amongſt others, all perſons who could propoſe to themſelves to get into a ſituation ſimilar to his, and who in ſuch caſe would naturally promiſe themſelves, in the event of their getting into his ſituation, a ſucceſs equal to his—or rather ſuperior; for ſuch is the preſumption and vanity natural to man.

Without ſuch publication, who ſhould I have to deal with, beſides him? certainly in compariſon, but a very few: not many more than I may have had at firſt; the terms, of courſe, diſadvantageous as at firſt: for diſadvantageous terms at firſt, while all is yet in darkneſs, they certainly muſt be.

After ſuch publication, who ſhould I have then? I ſhould have every body: every body who, by fortune, experience, judgment, diſpoſition, ſhould conceive himſelf able and find himſelf inclined, to engage in ſuch a buſineſs: and each perſon, ſeeing what advantage had been made, and how, would be willing to make his offer in proportion. What ſituation more favourable for making the beſt terms?

Theſe beſt terms, then, I ſhould make, at his death, even for his eſtabliſhment: but long before that, had I others upon the carpet, I ſhould make ſimilar good terms for all thoſe others. Thus I make his advantage mine, not only after it has ceaſed to be his, but almoſt as ſoon as it commences ſo to be: I thus get his ſucceſs in all the reſt by paying for it only in the one; and in that not more that it was neceſſary to pay for it.

But, *contractors*, you will ſay perhaps, or at leaſt if you don't, there are enough that will, "*are a good for nothing ſet of people: and why* "*ſhould we be fleeced by them? One of them per-* "*jured himſelf not long ago, and we put him into* "*the pillory. They are the ſame ſort of gentry that* "*are called farmers general in France, and publi-* "*cans in the goſpel, where they are ranked with* "*ſinners; and nobody likes them any where.*" All this to be ſure is very true—But if you put one

of

of them into the *pillory*, you put another of them into the *poſt-office;* and if in the devoted city, five righteous would have ſcreened the whole gang from the perdition called for by the enormities of ninety-five unrighteous, why ſhould not the merits of one Palmer, be enough to make it up for the demerits of twenty Atkinſons? Gentlemen in general, as I have had manifold occaſion to obſerve, love cloſe reaſoning, and here they have it. It might be thought ſtraying from the point, if I ventured to add, that gentlemen in the corn trade, or in any other trade, have not commonly quite ſo many witneſſes to *their bargains*, as my contractor would have to the management of *his* houſe.

LETTER

LETTER X.

Choice of Trades ſhould be free.

IN my laſt I troubled you with my ſentiments on the duration of the firſt contract, and the great article of *publicity* in the management, which was my motive for admitting of a duration ſo unlimited. But, long before my contractor and I had come to any ſettlement about theſe points, he would have found various queſtions to propoſe to me. One thing he would not fail to ſay to me is —*What trades may I put my men to when I have got them?*—My anſwer is ſoon given. *Any whatever that you can perſuade them to turn their hands to.* Now, then, ſir, let us think for a moment, if you pleaſe, what trades it may be moſt for his *advantage* to put them to, and what it is therefore *moſt likely* he ſhould be diſpoſed to put them to.

That he may get the better view of them, I throw them into *four* claſſes. In the *firſt*, I place thoſe, who already are poſſeſſed of buſineſſes capable of being carried on with advantage in the priſon:

priſon: in the *ſecond*, thoſe trained up to buſineſſes which, though not capable in themſelves of being carried on within ſuch limits, yet by the ſimilarity of operation have a tendency to render it more or leſs eaſy for a man to learn ſome of thoſe other buſineſſes which *are:* in the *third* rank, I would place ſuch as had been trained up indeed to induſtry, but to branches which have no ſuch tendency as I have juſt mentioned; ſuch for inſtance, as porters, coal-heavers, gardeners, and huſbandmen. In the laſt I would place men regularly brought up to the profeſſion of thieving, and others who have never been brought up to any kind of induſtry. Some names for theſe different claſſes I may as well endeavour to find as not: for names they muſt have when they get into their houſe; and, if I perform not that buſineſs myſelf, ſomebody elſe muſt do it for me. I will call them the *good* hands, the *capable* hands, the *promiſing* hands, and the *drones*. As to the *capable* hands, they will, of courſe, be the more valuable, the nearer the buſineſſes they underſtand approach to thoſe of the *good* ones; in other words, the leſs difficulty there would be in teaching the latter the buſineſs of the former. The ſame obſervation of courſe applies to the *promiſing* hands; in as far as the advantage which the one poſſeſs by habit the others may appear to poſſeſs by diſpoſition. Lower down in the ſcale of detail I will not attempt to lead you.

You

You have a very pretty law in England, for enriching the country, by keeping boys backward, and preventing men from following the trades they could get moſt by. If I were jealous of Ruſſia's growing too rich, and being able to buy too many of our goods, I would try to get ſuch a law as that introduced among theſe ſtupid people here, who have never yet had the ſenſe to think of any ſuch thing. Having no ſuch jealouſy againſt any country, much leſs againſt my own Utopia, I would beg that law might be baniſhed from within my walls. I fancy my contractor would be as well pleaſed with its room as its company; and as the ſame indulgence has been granted to other perſons of whoſe induſtry no great jealouſy ſeems to be entertained, ſuch as ſoldiers and ſailors, I have no great fear the indulgence would be denied me. Much, I believe, is not apprehended, in that way, from the red-coats and jack-tars; and ſtill leſs, I believe, would be apprehended from my heroes.

This ſtumbling-block cleared away, the firſt thing, I imagine my contractor would do, would be to ſet to work his *good* hands; to whom he would add as many of his *capable* hands as he could muſter.

With his *promiſing* hands and his *drones*, he would ſet up a manufacture. What then ſhall this

this manufacture be? *It may be this, and that, and t'other thing*, ſays the Hard-labour Bill:—*It ſhall be any thing or every thing*, ſay I.

As to the queſtion, *what ſort of manufacture or manufacturer would be likely to anſwer beſt?* It is a diſcuſſion I will not attempt to lead you into, for I do not propoſe at preſent to entertain you with a critical examination of the ſeveral actual and poſſible manufactures, eſtabliſhed and eſtabliſhable in Great Britain. The caſe, I imagine, would be, that ſome manufacturer or other, would be the man I ſhould have for my contractor; a man who, being engaged in ſome ſort of buſineſs that was eaſy to learn, and doing pretty well, with as many hands as he was able to get upon the ordinary terms, might hope to do better ſtill with a greater number, whom he could get upon much better terms. Now, whether there are any ſuch manufacturers, and how many, is what I cannot ſo well tell you, eſpecially at this diſtance; but, if you think it worth while to aſk Mr. Daily Advertiſer, or Mr. St. James's Chronicle, I fancy it will not be long before you get ſome anſwer.

In my *View of the Hard-labour Bill*, I ventured to throw out a hint upon the ſubject of putting the good hands to their own trades. Whether any and what uſe was made of that hint, I cannot recollect:

recollect: for neither the act which paſſed afterwards nor any chapter of that hiſtory, has travelled with me to *Crecheff;* nor ſhould I have had a ſingle ſcrap of paper to refreſh my memory on that ſubject, but for the copy of my own pamphlet which I found on my brother's ſhelf. The general notion ſeemed to be, that as the people were to be made to work for their puniſhment, the works to be given to them ſhould be ſome what which they would not like; and, in that reſpect, it looks as if the conſideration of puniſhment, with its appendage of reformation, had kept the other of economy a little behind the curtain. But I neither ſee the great danger, nor the great harm of a man's liking his work too well; and how well ſoever he might have liked it *elſewhere*, I ſhould ſtill leſs apprehend his liking the thought of having it to do *there*. Suppoſing no ſage regulations made by any body to nail them to this or that ſort of work, the work they would naturally fall upon under the hands of a contractor would be that, whatever it might be, by which there was moſt money to be made; for the more the priſoner-workman got, the more the maſter could get out of him; ſo that upon that point I ſhould have little fear of their not agreeing. Nor do I ſee why labour ſhould be the leſs *reforming* for being profitable. On the contrary, among working men, eſpecially among working men whom the diſcipline

line of the houſe would ſo effectually keep from all kinds of miſchief, I muſt confeſs, I know of no teſt of reformation ſo plain or ſo ſure as the improved quantity and value of their work.

It looks, however, as if the authors of the above proviſion had not quite ſo much faith in ſuch an arrangement as I muſt confeſs I have. For the choice of the trade was not to be left to the governor of the priſon, much leſs to the priſoner-workman, but was given to *ſuperintending committees of juſtices of the peace*. In chooſing among the employments exemplified and other ſimilar ones (for if I miſtake not this reſtriction of ſimilarity was ſubjoined) it was indeed recommended to thoſe magiſtrates to take "ſuch employments as "they ſhould deem moſt conducive to profit." But the profit here declared to be in view was, not the profit of the *workman* or his maſter the *governor*, but I know not what profit "of the *diſtrict*," the "convenience" of which (though I know not what convenience there could be diſtinct from profit) was another land-mark given them to ſteer by. If you caſt an eye on the trades exemplified (as I believe I muſt beg you to do preſently) you will find ſome difficulty, I believe, in conceiving that in the choice of them the article of profit could have been the uppermoſt conſideration. Nor was this all. For, beſides the veſting

of the choice of the employments in committees of juſtices in the firſt inſtance, the ſame magiſtrates are called upon to exerciſe their judgment and ingenuity in dividing the priſoners into claſſes; in ſuch ſort that the longer a man had ſtaid in the houſe, his labour ſhould be leſs and leſs "ſevere," exception made for delinquency, in which caſe a man might at any time be turned down from an upper claſs to a lower. But, had the matter been left to a contractor and his priſoner workmen, they would have been pretty ſure to pitch upon and to ſtick to, what would be moſt conducive to *their* profit, and by *that* means to the profit of the diſtrict; and that without any recommendation. Whether the effect of that recommendation would have been equally ſure upon the above mentioned magiſtrates, would have remained to be decided by experience. Underſtanding me to be ſpeaking merely of a magiſtrate in the abſtract, you will forgive my ſaying, that in this one point I have not quite ſo great a confidence in a ſet of gentlemen of that deſcription, as I have in that ſort of knave called a contractor. I ſee no ſort of danger, that to the contractor there ſhould be any one object upon earth dearer than the intereſt of the contractor: but I ſee ſome danger that there may be, now and then by accident, ſome other object rather dearer to the magiſtrate. Among theſe rival objects, if we do not always reckon the pleaſure

of

of plaguing the contractor, ſhould he and the magiſtrate chance not to agree, we may however not unfrequently reckon the exerciſe of his (the magiſtrate's) own power, and the diſplay of his own wiſdom; the former of which he may naturally enough conceive, was not given to him for nothing, nor the latter confided in without cauſe. You muſt, I think, before now have met with examples of men, that had rather a plan of the publick's, or even of an individual's for whom they had a more particular regard, ſhould miſcarry under their management, than proſper under a different one.

But if, without troubling yourſelf about general theories of human nature, you have a mind for a more palpable teſt of the propriety of this reaſoning, you may cut the matter ſhort enough, by making an experiment upon a contractor, and trying whether he will give you as good terms with theſe clogs about him, as he would without them. Sure I am, that, were I in his place, I ſhould require no ſmall abatement to be made to me, if, inſtead of chooſing the employments for my own men, I was liable, at every turn, to have them taken out of my hands, and put to different employments, by A, B, and C, to day, and by X, Y, and Z, to-morrow.

Upon

Upon the whole, you will not wonder that I ſhould have my doubts at preſent, whether the plan was rendered much the better for theſe ingenious but complicated refinements. They ſeemed mighty fine to me at the time; for when I ſaw contrivance, I expected ſucceſs proportionable.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

Multiplication of Trades is not neceſſary.

SO far as to the *choice* of buſineſſes. As to the new ones, I ſee no reaſon why any point ſhould be made of *multiplying* them; a ſingle one well choſen may anſwer the purpoſe, juſt as well as ever ſo many more. I mention this, becauſe though it may be eaſy to find one ſpecies of manufacture, or five, or ten, that might anſwer, with workmen ſo cramped, and in a ſituation ſo confined, it might not be quite ſo eaſy to find fifty or a hundred. The number of hands, for which employment is to be found, can ſcarcely be admitted as a reaſon for multiplying the ſubjects of manufacture. In ſuch a nation as Great Britain, it is difficult to conceive that the greateſt number of hands, that can be compriſed in ſuch an eſtabliſhment, ſhould be great enough to overſtock the market: and if this iſland of ours is not big enough, this globe of ours is ſtill bigger. In many ſpecies of manufacture, the work is performed with more and more

more advantage, as every body knows, the more it can be divided: and in many inſtances, what ſets bounds to that diviſion, is rather the number of hands the maſter can afford to maintain, than any other circumſtance.

When one turns to the Hard-labour Bill, it looks as if the framers of it had been under ſome anxiety, to find out buſineſſes that they thought might do in their penitentiary houſes, and to make known the reſult of their diſcoveries. It accordingly propoſes for conſideration a variety of examples. For ſuch of the priſoners as were to be worked the hardeſt, 1. Treading in a wheel. 2. Drawing in a capſtern for turning a mill or other machine or engine. 3. Beating hemp. 4. Raſping logwood. 5. Chopping rags. 6. Sawing timber. 7. Working at forges. 8. Smelting. For thoſe who were to be moſt favoured, making ropes. 2. Weaving ſacks. 3. Spinning yarn. 4. Knitting nets.

I find ſome difficulty, however, in conceiving to what uſe this inſtruction was deſtined, unleſs it were the edification of that claſs of legiſlators, more frequently quoted for worth than knowledge, the country gentlemen. To ſome gentlemen of that reſpectable deſcription, it might for ought I know be matter of conſolation, to ſee that induſtry could

could find ſo many ſhapes to aſſume, on ſuch a ſtage. But if it was deſigned to give a general view of the purpoſes to which manual labour may be applied, it goes not very far, and there are publications enough that go ſome hundreds of times farther. If the former of its two chapters was deſigned as a ſpecimen of ſuch works of a particularly laborious caſt, as are capable of being carried on to the greateſt advantage, or with leaſt advance of capital, or with the greateſt ſecurity, againſt workmen of ſo refractory a complexion— or if either chapter was deſtined as a ſpecimen of employments that required leaſt extent of room— in any of theſe caſes the ſpecimen ſeems not a very happy one.—1. and 2. of the *treading in a wheel* or *drawing in a capſtern for turning a mill*, nothing can be ſaid in reſpect of pecuniary productiveneſs, till the mill, the machine, or the engine are ſpecified; nor any thing, that can be found to diſtinguiſh them from other employments, except the room and the expence, which ſuch implements ſeem more particularly to require. 3d. *Beating of hemp* is a buſineſs too proverbial to be unknown to any body, and, in thoſe eſtabliſhments where it has had compulſion for its motive, has not hitherto, I believe, proved a very profitable one: and if I may believe people who are of the trade, and who have no intereſt to miſlead me, hemp beaten by hand, though it takes more labour does not

not fetch ſo good a price, as when beaten at a water-mill. 4th. *Raſping logwood* is an employment which is ſaid by Mr. Howard, I think, and others, to be carried on in ſome work-houſes in Holland, and I believe to ſome profit. But I know it has been carried on likewiſe by the natural *primum-mobiles;* witneſs a windmill, which, I remember, a tenant of yours employed in this way; and I can conceive few operations, in which thoſe natural powers promiſe to have greater advantage over the human. 5th. *Chopping rags* is a buſineſs that can anſwer no other purpoſe than the ſupplying materials for paper-mills, which cannot any where be eſtabliſhed without a ſupply of *running-water;* an element which, I am ſure in many, and I am apt to think, in all paper-mills hitherto eſtabliſhed, affords for this operation a *primum mobile* much more advantageous than human labour. In the 6th, 7th, and 8th, examples, viz. *ſawing timber*, *working at forges*, and *ſmelting*, I ſee nothing to diſtinguiſh them very remarkably from three hundred others, that might be mentioned, unleſs it be the great room they all of them occupy, the great and expenſive eſtabliſhment which they ſuppoſe, or the dangerous weapons which they put into the hands of any workman who may be diſpoſed to turn that property to account. 9th. As to *rope-making*, which ſtands at the head of the leſs laborious claſs, beſides being

as I always underſtood, remarkably otherwiſe, it has the particular property of taking up more room than, I believe, any other manufacturing employment that was ever thought of. As to the three laſt articles of the dozen, viz. *weaving ſacks*, *ſpinning yarn*, and *knitting nets*, I know of no particular objections that can be made to them, any more than to three ſcore others. But, without going a ſtone's throw from the table I am writing upon, I could find more than as many buſineſſes, which pay better, in England, than theſe three laſt in other reſpects exceptionable ones, which are as eaſy to learn, take up as little room, and require a capital nearly or quite as moderate to ſet up. By coming here if I have learnt nothing elſe, I have learnt what the human powers are capable of, when unfettered by the arbitrary regulations of an unenlightened age: and gentlemen may ſay what they pleaſe, but they ſhall never perſuade me that in England thoſe powers are in any remarkable degree inferior to what they are in Ruſſia *. However, not having the mantle of legiſlation to ſcreen me from the ridicule of going beyond my laſt, I forbear to ſpecify even what I have under my eye, knowing that in Mr. Arthur Young, a gentleman whom no one can accuſe of

 hiding

* One of my brother's boys, who had not been at nail-making a month, got flogged t'other day for making a knife. Not that at Crécheff there is any law againſt ingenuity; but there is againſt ſtealing iron and ſtealing time.

hiding his candle under a buſhel, any body that chooſes it might find an informant, who on this, as well as ſo many other important ſubjects, for every grain of information I could give, could give a thouſand.

But, without any diſparagement to that gentleman, for whoſe public ſpirited labours and well directed talents no man feels greater reſpect than I do, there are other perſons, who, on theſe ſame ſubjects could, for ſuch a purpoſe, give ſtill more and better information than he, and he would not be leſs communicative — I mean as before, Mr. Daily Advertiſer and his brethren.

There are two points in politics very hard to compaſs. One is, to perſuade legiſlators that they do not underſtand ſhoemaking better than ſhoemakers: the other is, to perſuade ſhoemakers that they do not underſtand legiſlating better than legiſlators. The latter point is particularly difficult in our own dear country; but the other is the hardeſt of all hard things every where.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

Contractors checks.

THE point then being ſettled, what trades the people may be employed in, another queſtion my contractor will aſk is, what *powers* he is to have put in his hands, as a means of perſuading them to betake themſelves to thoſe trades? The ſhorteſt way of anſwering this queſtion will be, to tell him what powers he ſhall *not* have. In the firſt place then, he ſhall not ſtarve them. *What then!* you will ſay perhaps, "*do you think it likely that he would?*" — To ſpeak the truth, for my own part I have no great fear of it. Beſides my notion is, that the law, in guarding itſelf againſt men, ought to do juſt the contrary of what the judge ſhould do in trying them; eſpecially where there is nothing to be loſt by it. The buſineſs, you know, of the judge is to preſume them all honeſt till he is forced to ſuſpect the contrary: the buſineſs of the law is, to conclude them all without exception, to be the greateſt knaves and villains that can be imagined

imagined. My contractor, therefore, I make myſelf ſure, would ſtarve them, a good many of them at leaſt, if he were let alone. He would ſtarve, of courſe, all whom he could not make pay for their board, together with ſomething for his trouble. But as I ſhould get nothing by this economy, and might loſe ſome credit by it, I have no mind it ſhould take place. Bread, though as bad as wholeſome bread can be, they ſhall have then in plenty: this and water and nothing elſe. This they ſhall be certain of having, and what is of full as much conſequence, every body elſe that pleaſes ſhall be certain of their having it. My brethren of the would-be-reforming tribe may go and look at it at the baker's: they may weigh it, if they will, and buy it, and carry it home, and give it to their children or their pigs. It ſhall be dealt out by ſound of trumpet, if you pleaſe; and chriſtian ſtarers may amuſe themſelves with ſeeing bad bread dealt out to felons, as chriſtian ambaſſadors are entertained with the ſight of bags of bad money counted out to Janiſſaries. The latter wonder I ſaw; the other I aſſure you, would give me much more pleaſure.

With this ſaving clauſe, I deliver them over to the extortioner, and let him make the moſt of them. Let him ſell porter at the price of port: and "humble port" at the price of "imperial tokay:" his

his cuſtomers might grumble, but I don't think you would, and I am ſure I ſhould not: for it is for that they were put there. Never fear his being ſo much his own enemy, as to ſtand out for a price which nobody will give.

In the next place I don't know that I ſhould be for allowing him the power of beating his boarders, nor in ſhort of puniſhing them in any ſhape. Any where elſe, ſuch an exemption muſt have been viſionary and impracticable. Without either puniſhment, or intereſt given him in the profits of his labour, an intereſt which, to get the better of ſo many adverſe motives muſt have been a pretty ſtrong one, how could you have inſured a man's doing a ſingle ſtroke of work? and, even *with* ſuch intereſt, how could you have inſured his not doing all ſorts of miſchief? as to miſchief, I obſerve to you under the article of ſafe-cuſtody, how eaſy their keeper might make himſelf upon that ſcore: and as to work, I flatter myſelf you perceive already, that there need be no great fear of a want of inducements adequate to that purpoſe.

If after all it ſhould be inſiſted, that ſome power of correction would be abſolutely neceſſary, for inſtance, in the caſe of a priſoner's aſſaulting a keeper or a teacher at the time of receiving his food or his inſtruction, (a caſe which, though never

ver very probable, would be always poſſible) ſuch a power, though leſs neceſſary here than any where elſe, might on the other hand, be given with leſs danger. What tyranny could ſubſiſt under ſuch a perfect facility of complaint as is the reſult of ſo perfect a facility of inſpection? but on this head a word is ſufficient, after what I have ſaid in conſidering the general heads of advantage dependent on this principle. Other checks aſſiſtant to this are obvious enough. A *correction-book* might be kept in which every inſtance of chaſtiſement, with the cauſe for which it was adminiſtered, might be entered upon record: any the ſlighteſt act of puniſhment not entered to be conſidered as a lawleſs injury. If theſe checks be not enough, the preſence of one or more perſons, beſides him by whom the correction was actually adminiſtered, might be required as witneſſes of the mode and quantum of correction, and of the alledged cauſe.

But, beſides preventing his ſtarving them or uſing them ill, there is another thing I ſhould be much inclined to do in order to make it his intereſt to take care of them. I would make him pay ſo much for every one that died, without troubling myſelf whether any care of his could have kept the man alive. To be ſure he would make me pay for this in the contract; but as I ſhould receive it from him afterwards, what it coſt me in the long run would be no great matter. He would

would get underwriter's profit by me; but let him get that and welcome.

Suppoſe three hundred Priſoners: and that out of that number of perſons of their ages, ten, that is one out of thirty ought to die every year, were they taken at large. But perſons of their character and in their condition, it may be expected, will die faſter than honeſt men. Say therefore one in twenty, though I believe, as jails ſtand at preſent, if no more than one in ten die, or for aught I know out of a much ſmaller number, it may be thought very well. Give the contractor then for every man that ought to die, for inſtance ten pounds: that ſum, repeated for every man in twenty among three hundred will amount to a hundred and fifty pounds. Upon theſe terms, then, at the end of the year make him pay ten pounds for every man that has actually died within that time; to which you may add *or eſcaped*, and I dare ſay he will have no objection. If by nurſing them and making much of them he ſhould find himſelf at the end of the year a few pounds the richer by his tenderneſs, who would grudge it him? If you have ſtill any doubt of him, inſtead of the ten pounds you may put twenty, you will not be much the poorer for it. I don't know upon ſecond thoughts whether ſome what of this ſort has not been put in practice, or at leaſt propoſed for foundlings.

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lings.

lings. Be that as it may, make but my contractor's allowance large enough and you need not doubt his fondneſs of theſe his adopted children; of whom whoſoever may chance while under his wing to depart this vale of tears, will be ſure to leave one ſincere mourner at leaſt, without the parade of mourning.

Some perhaps may be for obſerving, that, upon my own principles, this contrivance would be of no uſe but to ſave the uſeleſs; ſince the contractor, of himſelf, knows better things than not to take care of a cow that will give milk. But, with their leave, I do not mean that even the uſeleſs ſhould be ſtarved; for if the judges had thought this proper, they would have ſaid ſo.

The patrons of the Hard-labour Bill, proceeding with that caution and tenderneſs that pervades their whole ſyſtem, have denied their *governor*, as they call him, the power of whipping. Some penal power however, for putting a ſtop to miſchief was, under their plan, abſolutely neceſſary. They preferred, as the mildeſt and leſs dangerous power, that of confining a man in a *dark dungeon under ground*, under a bread-and-water diet. I did then take the liberty to object, againſt the chooſing by way of puniſhment the putting of a man into a place, which differed not from other places in any eſſential particular, but that of the chance

chance it ſtood of proving unwholeſome: propoſing, at the ſame time, a very ſimple expedient, by which their ordinary habitations might be made to receive every other property of a dungeon; in ſhort, the making of them dark.

But in one of my brother's Inſpection-houſes, there the man is in his dungeon already, (the only ſort of dungeon, at leaſt, which I conceive any man need be in) very ſafe and quiet. He is likewiſe entertaining himſelf with his bread and water: with only one little circumſtance in his favor, that whenever he is tired of that regimen, it is in his own power to put himſelf under a better: unleſs my contractor chooſes to fine himſelf for the purpoſe of puniſhing his boarder; an act of cruelty which I am in no great dread of.

In ſhort, bating the checks you have ſeen and which certainly are not very complicated, the plan of eſtabliſhment which ſuch a principle of conſtruction ſeems, now at leaſt, if not for the firſt time, to render eligible, and which as ſuch I have been venturing to recommend, is exactly upon a par, in point of ſimplicity, with the forced and temporary expedient of the *ballaſt-lighters*: a plan that has the moſt perfect ſimplicity to recommend it, and, I believe, not much elſe. The chief differences are, that convicts are not in the Inſpection-houſes, as in thoſe lighters, jammed together in

fetters, under a maſter ſubject to no inſpection, and ſcarce under any controul, having no intereſt in their welfare, or their work, in a place of *ſecret* confinement, favorable to infection and to eſcapes.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

Means of extracting Labour.

UNDERSTANDING thus much of his ſituation, my contractor, I conceive, notwithſtanding the checks you have ſeen, will hardly think it neceſſary to aſk me, how he is to manage, to perſuade his boarders to ſet at work. Having them under this regimen, what better ſecurity he can wiſh for of their working, and that to their utmoſt, I can hardly imagine. At any rate he has much better ſecurity, than he can have for the induſtry and diligence of any ordinary journeyman at large, who is paid by the day, and not by the piece. If a man won't work, nothing has he to do, from morning to night, but to eat his bad bread and drink his water, without a ſoul to ſpeak to. If he will work, his time is occupied, and he has his meat and his beer, or whatever elſe his earnings may afford him, and not a ſtroke does he ſtrike but he gets ſomething, which he would not have got otherwiſe. This encouragement is neceſſary to his doing his utmoſt; but more than this is not neceſſary.

neceſſary. It is neceſſary, every exertion he makes ſhould be ſure of its reward: but it is not neceſſary, that ſuch reward be ſo great, or any thing near ſo great, as he might have had, had he worked elſewhere. This confinement, which is his puniſhment, preventing his carrying the work to another market, ſubjects him to a monopoly; which the contractor, his maſter, like any other monopoliſt, makes of courſe as much of as he can. The workman lives in a poor country where wages are low; but in a poor country, a man who is paid according to his work, will exert himſelf at leaſt as much as in a rich one. According to Mr. Arthur Young, and the very cogent evidence he gives, he ſhould work more: for more work that intelligent traveller finds always done in dear years than in plentiful ones: the earnings of one day affording in the latter caſe, a fund for the extravagance of the next. But this is not all. His maſter may fleece him if he pleaſes, at both ends. After ſharing in his profits, he may again take a profit upon his expence. He would probably chooſe to employ both expedients together; the tax upon earnings if it ſtood alone, might poſſibly appear liable to be evaded in ſome degree, and be fruſtrated in ſome caſes, by a confederacy between the workmen and their employers out of doors: the tax upon expenditure, by their frugality; ſuppoſing that virtue to take root in ſuch a ſoil: or in

ſome

ſome inſtances, perhaps, by their generoſity to their friends without doors. The tax upon earnings would probably not be laid on in an open way, upon any other than the *good* hands: whoſe traffick muſt be carried on, with or without his intervention, between them and their out-of-door employers. In the trades which he thought proper to ſet up of himſelf for his *capable* hands, his *promiſing* hands, and his *drones*, the tax might be levied in a more covert way by the lowering of the price paid by him in compariſon of the free prices given out of doors for ſimilar work. Where he is ſure of his men as well with regard to their diſpoſition to ſpend as with regard to their inability to collude, the tax upon expenditure, without any tax upon profits open or covert, would be the leaſt diſcouraging; it would be the leaſt diſcouraging for the preſent, as the earnings would ſound greater to their ears: and with a view to the future, as they would thereby ſee (I mean ſuch of them as had any hopes of releaſement) what their earnings might at that happy period, be expected to amount to, in reality as well as in name.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

Proviſion for liberated perſons.

THE circumſtance touched upon at the cloſe of my laſt letter, ſuggeſts another advantage, and that not an inconſiderable one, which you will find more particularly if not excluſively connected with the contract plan.

The turning of the priſoners labour into the moſt profitable channels being left free, depending upon the joint choice of the two only parties intereſted in puſhing the advantage to the utmoſt, would afford a reſource, and that I ſhould conceive a ſure one, for the ſubſiſtence of the priſoners, after the expiration of their terms. No trade that could be carried on in this ſtate of thraldom but could be carried on with at leaſt equal advantage, in a ſtate of liberty. Both parties would probably find their account in continuing their manufacturing connection, after the diſſolution of every other. The workman, after the ſtigma caſt on him by the place of his abode, would probably not find it ſo

eaſy

eaſy to get employment elſewhere.—If he got it at all, it would be upon terms proportioned in ſome meaſure to the riſk which an employer at large might think he would run on his own part, and in ſome caſes to the danger of driving away fellow workmen, by the introduction of an aſſociate who might prove more or leſs unwelcome. He would therefore probably come cheaper to his former maſter than another man would: at the ſame time that he would get more from him in his free ſtate than he had been uſed to get when confined.

Whether this reſource was in contemplation with the planners of the Hard-labour Bill, I cannot pretend to ſay: I find not upon the face of that bill any proof of the affirmative. It provides a ſum for each priſoner, partly for preſent ſubſiſtence, partly as a ſort of little capital to be put into his pocket upon his diſcharge. But the ſole meaſure aſſigned to this ſum is the good behaviour of the party, not the ſum required to ſet him up in whatever might have been his trade. Nor had the choice of his employment been left to the governor of the houſe, ſtill leſs to the priſoner; but to committees of juſtices, as I obſerved before.

As to the Woolwich Academy, all ideas of reformation under that name, and of a continuance of the like induſtry as a means of future proviſion, ſeem

ſeem there to have been equally out of the queſtion. That they ſhould hire lighters of their own to heave ballaſt from, does not appear to have been expected: and if any of them had had the fortune to poſſeſs trades of their own before, the ſcraping of gravel for three, five, or ſeven years together out of the river, had no particular tendency that I can ſee, to rub up the recollection of thoſe trades. The allowance upon diſcharge would however always have its uſe, though not always the ſame uſe. It might help to fit them out for trades; it might ſerve them to get drunk with: it might ſerve them to buy any houſe-breaking implements which they could not ſo well come at to ſteal. The ſeparation between the landlord and his gueſts muſt on his ſide have been rendered the leſs affecting, by the expectation which he could not but entertain of its proving but a ſhort one. Nor was ſubſequent proviſion of one ſort or other by any means wanting, for thoſe who failed to find it *there*. The gallows was always ready with open arms to receive as many as the jail-fever ſhould have refuſed.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

Proſpect of ſaving from this Plan.

MANY are the *data* with which a man ought to be furniſhed, and with not one of which am I furniſhed, before he pretended to ſpeak upon any tolerable footing of aſſurance with regard to the advantage that might be expected in the view of pecuniary economy from the inſpection plan. *On the one hand*, the average annual amount of the *preſent* eſtabliſhments, whatever they are, (for I confeſs I do not know) for the diſpoſal of convicts: —The expected amount of the like average with regard to the meaſure which I have juſt learnt has been reſolved upon, for ſending colonies of them to New Wales, including as well the maintenance of them till ſhipped, as the expence of the tranſportation, and the maintenance of them when they are got there: *On the other hand*, the capital propoſed to have been expended in the *building* and *fitting up* the experimental *Penitentiary-houſe*:— The further capital propoſed to have been expend-

ed in the *furniture* of it: — The ſum propoſed to have been allowed per man for the *maintenance* of the priſoners till the time when their labour might be expected to yield a produce. Theſe points and a few others being aſcertained, I ſhould then be curious to know what degree of productiveneſs, if any, would be looked upon as giving to the meaſure of a Penitentiary-houſe, either of any conſtruction or of this extraordinary one, the pre-eminence upon the whole over any of the other modes of diſpoſal now in practice or in contemplation. Many diſtinct points for the eye to reſt upon in ſuch a ſcale will readily occur — 1ſt. The produce might be barely ſufficient to pay the expence of *feeding*.—2d. It might farther pay the expence of *cloathing*.—3d. It might farther pay the expence of *guarding* and *inſtructing*, viz. the ſalaries or other emoluments of the numerous tribe of viſitors, governors, jailors, taſk maſters, &c. in the one caſe, and of the contractor and his aſſiſtants in the other.—4th. It might farther pay the *wear and tear* of the working ſtock laid in.—5th. It might farther pay the *intereſt* of the *capital* employed in the purchaſe of ſuch ſtock.—6th. It might farther pay the intereſt of the capital laid out in the *erecting* and *fitting* up the eſtabliſhment in all its parts, at the common rate of intereſt for money laid out in building.—7th. It might farther pay, at the ordinary rate, the *intereſt* of the money

ney if any, laid out in the *purchaſe* of the *ground*. Even at the firſt mentioned and loweſt of theſe ſtages, I ſhall be curious to compare the charge of ſuch an inſtitution with that of the leaſt chargeable of thoſe others that are as yet preferred to it.— When it had riſen above the laſt, then as you ſee and not till then, it could be ſaid to yield a *profit*, in the ſenſe in which the ſame thing could be ſaid of any manufacturing eſtabliſhment of a private nature.

But long before that period, the objections of thoſe whoſe ſentiments are the leaſt favourable to ſuch an eſtabliſhment would, I take for granted, have been perfectly removed. Yet what ſhould make it ſtop any where ſhort of the higheſt of thoſe ſtages, or what ſhould prevent it from riſing even conſiderably above the higheſt of them, is more, I proteſt, than I can perceive. On what points a manufacturer ſetting up in ſuch an eſtabliſhment would be in a *worſe* ſituation than an ordinary manufacturer, I really do not ſee: but I ſee many points on which he is in a *better*. His hands indeed are all raw perhaps, at leaſt with relation to the particular ſpecies of work which he employs them upon, if not with relation to every other. But ſo are all hands every where, at the firſt ſetting up of every manufacture. Look round and you will find inſtances enough of manufac-

tures

tures where children, down to four years old, earn ſomething, and where children a few years older earn a ſubſiſtence, and that a comfortable one. I muſt leave to you to mention names and places. You, who have been ſo much of an Engliſh traveller, cannot but have met with inſtances in plenty. if you have happened to note them down. Many are the inſtances you muſt have found in which the part taken by each workman is reduced to ſome one ſingle operation of ſuch perfect ſimplicity, that one might defy the awkwardeſt and moſt helpleſs idler that ever exiſted to avoid ſucceeding in it. Among the eighteen or twenty operations into which the proceſs of pin-making has been divided, I queſtion whether there is any one that is not reduced to ſuch a ſtate. In this point then he is upon at leaſt as good a footing as other manufacturers: but in all other points he is upon a better. What hold can any other manufacturer have upon his workmen, equal to what my manufacturer would have upon his? What other maſter is there that can reduce his workmen, if idle, to a ſituation next to ſtarving, without ſuffering them to go elſewhere? What other maſter is there, whoſe men can never get drunk unleſs he chooſes they ſhould do ſo? And who ſo far from being able to raiſe their wages by combination, are obliged to take whatever pittance he thinks it moſt for his intereſt to allow? In all other

other manufactories, thoſe members of a family who can and will work muſt earn enough to maintain not only themſelves but thoſe who either cannot or will not work. Each maſter of a family muſt earn enough to maintain, or at leaſt help to maintain, a wife, and to maintain ſuch as are yet helpleſs among his children. My manufacturers workmen, however crampt in other reſpects, have the good or ill fortune to be freed from this incumbrance: a freedom, the advantage of which will be no ſecret to their maſter, who, ſeeing he is to have the honor of their cuſtom in his capacity of ſhop-keeper, has taken care to get the meaſure of their earnings to a hair's breadth. What other manufacturers are there who reap their profits at the riſk of other people, and who have the purſe of the nation to ſupport them, in caſe of any blameleſs misfortune?—And to crown the whole by the great advantage which is the peculiar fruit of this new principle, what other maſter or manufacturer, is there, who to appearance conſtantly, and in reality as much as he thinks proper, has every look and motion of each workman under his eye? — Without any of theſe advantages we ſee manufacturers, not only keeping their heads above water, but making their fortunes every day. A manufacturer in this ſituation *may* certainly fail, becauſe ſo may he in any other. But the probability is he would *not* fail: becauſe,

becauſe, even without theſe great advantages much fewer fail than thrive, or the wealth of the country could not have gone on increaſing as it has done, from the reign of Brutus to the preſent. And if political eſtabliſhments were to wait, till probability were converted into certainty before trial, *parliament* might as well go to bed at once, and ſleep on the ſame pillow with ſiſter *convocation*.

To ſpeak in ſober ſadneſs, I do dearly love, as you well know, in human dealings no leſs than in divine, to think and to ſay, as far as conſcience will allow me, that " whatever is, is right :" as well concerning thoſe things which are done, as concerning thoſe which have been left undone.— The gentlemen who gave themſelves ſo much trouble about the Penitentiary-houſe plan, did extremely well; and for aught I know, the gentlemen, who put it under the table at laſt, may have done ſtill better. If you have a mind to ſhare with me in this comfortable feeling, turn once more to that diſcarded favorite, and obſerve what load of expence, ſome part then neceſſary, ſome perhaps not altogether ſo, it was to have thrown upon the nation : and, at the ſame time what will be ſtill more comfortable to you, how great a proportion of that expence would be ſtruck off, by the new and of courſe ſtill greater favorite, which I have ventured to introduce to you.

In

In the firſt place, there was to have been a vaſt extent of ground; for it was to have had *rope walks* and *timber yards*, and it is well it was not to have had dock yards. Then, for the ſake of healthineſs, that ground was to have had a command of *running water*: then again, for the convenience of dignified inſpectors, that ground and that water were to have been in the *vicinity of the metropolis*. It was to have been on the bank of the Thames, ſome where I think about Wandſworth and Batterſea: and a ſite fit for I know not how many of the moſt luxurious villas that fancy could conceive or Chriſtie deſcribe, was to be buried under it. Seven and twenty thouſand pounds, I think, was the price talked of, and for aught I know, paid for the bare ground, before ſo much as a ſpade was put in it *. As to my contractor, eighteen or twenty acres of the moſt unprofitable land your country or any other contains, any waſte land, in ſhort, which the crown has already in its poſſeſſion, would anſwer every plea he could put in, and out of that he would crib gardens for his own accommodation, and farm yards, and I know not what beſides. As to *running water*, it is indeed to every purpoſe a very agreeable circumſtance, and under the ordinary jail regimen, a not

* I do not recollect from what ſource I took this idea of the ſum. I now underſtand it was to have been no more than five thouſand pound.

very desirable, possibly an essential one. But many of the lords and commons make shift without it, even at their villas, and almost all of them when not at their villas, without ascribing any want of health they may labour under to the want of running water. As to my contractor's boarders, they must have water indeed, because every body must have water: but under the provision I have made, for turning the operations of cleanliness into *motives of course*, I should apprehend their condition might still be tolerable, should they have no other running stock of that necessary element than what falls to the share of better men.

When the ground thus dearly wrung from the grasp of luxury came to be covered, think what another source of expence was to be opened, when over and above nine hundred roomy chambers for so many persons to *lie* in, three other different classes of apartments were to be provided, to I know not what number nor extent, for them to *work* in, to *pray* in, and to *suffer* in! four operations, the scenes of which are, upon our plan, consolidated into one.

I need not add much to what I have said in a former letter, about the tribe of subordinate establishments, each of them singly an object of no mean expence, which it seems to have been in contemplation to inclose within the fortress, I mean the

the mills, the forges, the engines, the timber yards and the rope walks. The ſeal which ſtamps my contract diſpells, as if it were a taliſman, this great town in *nubibus;* and two or three plain round houſes take its place. Either I am much miſtaken, or a ſum not much exceeding what was paid or deſtined for the bare ground of the propoſed Penitentiary-houſes, would build and completely fit up thoſe round houſes, beſides paying for the ground.

To this account of the *dead* ſtock is to be added, if I may ſay it without offence, that of the *live* ſtock of inſpectors of every rank and denomination; I mean the pyramid of under keepers, and taſkmaſters, and ſtorekeepers, and governors, and committees of magiſtrates, which it builds up, all to be paid up and ſalaried, with allowances riſing in proportion to the riſe of dignity: the whole to be crowned with a grand triumvirate of ſuperintendants, two of whom were to have been members of parliament, men of high birth and quality, whoſe toilſome dignity a miniſter would hardly have affronted by the offer of ſalaries much inferior to what are ſtill to be found annexed to ſinecures.

I will not ſay much of the "other officers," without number, which, I ſee by my *View of the Hard-labour Bill*, were to have been added, and

of courſe muſt have been added, in ſuch number as the "committees" of your **** to whom this buſineſs was then committed, or at any rate ſome other good judges ſhould have judged "neceſſary."

Officers and governors, *eo nomine*, my contractor would have none: and any ſuperfluous clerk or over looker, who might be found lurking in his eſtabliſhment, he would have much leſs tenderneſs for, than your gardener has for the ſow-thiſtles in your garden. The greateſt part of *his* ſcience comes to *him* in maxims from his grand-mother; and amongſt the foremoſt of thoſe maxims is that which ſtigmatizes as an unfrugal practice, the keeping of more cats than will catch mice.

If under all theſe circumſtances, the Penitentiary-houſes ſhould have been ſomewhat of a bug-bear, it will be the leſs to be wondered at, when one conſiders the magnitude of the ſcale upon which this complicated experiment was going to be made. I mentioned in round numbers nine hundred as the number of convicts which was going to be provided for; but 888 was the exact number mentioned in the bill. Three eights "thus arranged, "a terrible ſhew!" But granting this to be the number likely to require proviſion of ſome kind or other, it ſurely does not follow that all that require

quire it, muſt neceſſarily be provided for in this manner, or in none. If the eight hundred and eighty-eight appear ſo formidable, gentlemen may ſtrike off the hundreds and try whether the country will be ruined by an eſtabliſhment inferior to that which an obſcure ex-countryman of theirs is going to amuſe himſelf with.

What I have all along been taking for granted is, that it is the mere dread of extravagance that has *driven* your thrifty miniſter from the Penitentiary-houſe plan, not the love of tranſportation that has *ſeduced* him from it. The inferiority of the latter mode of puniſhment in point of exemplarity and equality, in ſhort in every point but that of expence, ſtands, I believe undiſputed. I recollected the reaſons againſt it, that were in every body's mouth, and marked them down with, I think ſome additions (as you may or may not remember) in my View of the Hard-labour Bill, ſupplement included. I have never happened to hear any objections made to thoſe reaſons: nor have I heard of any charms, other than thoſe of antiquity and comparative frugality, that tranſportation has to recommend it. Suppoſing therefore what I moſt certainly do not ſuppoſe, that my contractor could not keep his people at home at *leſs* expence than it would take to ſend them abroad, yet if he could keep them at no *greater* expence. I ſhould preſume that even this would be reckoned

no

no ſmall point gained, and that even this very moderate ſucceſs would be ſufficient to put an end to ſo undeſirable a branch of navigation.

Nor does any preference that might be given to the tranſportation plan, ſuperſede the neceſſity of this or ſome other ſubſtitute to it, in the many caſes to which it cannot be conceived that plan ſhould be extended. Tranſportation to this deſert for ſeven years, a puniſhment which under ſuch circumſtances is ſo much like tranſportation for life, is not I ſuppoſe, to be inflicted for every peccadillo. Veſſels will not be ſailing every week or fortnight upon this four or five or ſix months navigation: hardly much oftener, I ſhould ſuppoſe, than once a twelvemonth. In the mean time the convicts muſt be ſome where: and wheth r they are likely to be better qualified for colonization by lounging in an ordinary jail, or rotting on board a ballaſt-hulk, or working in an inſpection houſe, may now, I think, be left for any one to judge.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

Houſes of Correction.

IN conſidering my brother's inſpection plan as applicable to the purpoſe of eſtabliſhments deſigned to force labour, my principal theme has hitherto been the national eſtabliſhment of *Penitentiary-houſes*. My firſt deſign, however, was to help to drive the nail I ſaw a going; I mean the *Houſe of Correction*, which the advertiſement informed me was under conſideration for your ****. I had little notion, at the outſet, of attempting any ſuch uphill work as the heaving up again that huge ſtone, the *Penitentiary-houſe*, which the builders at laſt had refuſed, and which, after the toiling and ſtraining of ſo many years, had tumbled to the bottom. But the greater object grew upon me as I wrote; and what I found to ſay on that ſubject I grudged the leſs, as thinking it might, moſt of it, be more or leſs applicable to your eſtabliſhment. How far, and in what particular reſpects it may prove ſo, I have no means of knowing; I trouble you with it at a venture. In my laſt

laſt I propoſed, if the nation were poor and fearful, a Penitentiary-houſe upon a very ſmall ſcale; ſo ſmall, if ſuch caution were thought neceſſary, as not to contain ſo many as a hundred priſoners. But however poor the nation may be, the * * * * * of * * * * ſurely is rich. What then ſhould hinder your * * * * * from ſtanding forth and ſetting the nation an example? what the number of perſons you may have to provide for in this way is ſuppoſed to be, I have no means of knowing; but I ſhould think it ſtrange, if it did not conſiderably exceed the one juſt mentioned. What it is you will riſk by ſuch an experiment, is more than I can ſee. As far as the building is concerned, it is a queſtion which architects, and they alone, can anſwer. In the mean time, we who know nothing of the matter, can findno reaſon, all things conſidered, why a building upon this plan ſhould coſt more than upon another. But ſetting aſide the building, every other difference is on the profitable ſide.

The precautions againſt eſcapes, and the reſtraints deſtined to anſwer the ends of puniſhment, would not I ſuppoſe in your eſtabliſhment be quite ſo ſtrict, as it would be neceſſary they ſhould be in an eſtabliſhment deſigned to anſwer the purpoſe of a Penitentiary-houſe. Bars, bolts, and gratings would in this of your's, I ſuppoſe, be rejected: and the inexorable *partition-walls*, might for ſome purpoſes be thinned away to boards or canvaſs, and

for

for others thrown out altogether. With you, the gloomy paradox of crouded ſolitude might be exchanged perhaps for the chearfulneſs of a common refectory. The ſabbath might be a ſabbath there as elſewhere. In the Penitentiary Inſpection-houſe the priſoners were to lie, as they were to eat, to work, to pray, and to do every thing, in their cells, and no where elſe. In your Houſe of Correction, where they ſhould lie, or how they ſhould lie, I ſtay not to enquire.

It is well however for you * * * * gentlemen, that you are ſo rich; for in point of frugality, I could not venture to premiſe you any thing like the ſucceſs that I would to "poor old England. Your contractor's jail-birds, if you had a contractor, would be perpetually upon the wing: the ſhort terms you would be ſending them to him for, would ſeldom admit of their attaining to ſuch a proficiency, as to make a profit upon any branch of induſtry. In general, what in a former letter I termed the *good* hands, would be his chief, if not his whole dependence; and that, I doubt, but a ſcanty one.

I will not peſter you with further niceties applicable to the difference between *Houſes of Correction*, and *Work-houſes*, and *Poor-houſes*, if any there ſhould be, which are not work-houſes; between the different modes of treatment that may be

be due, to what are looked upon as the inferior degree of *diſhoneſty*, to *idleneſs* as yet untainted with diſhoneſty, and to blameleſs *indigence*. The law herſelf has ſcarcely eyes for theſe microſcopic differences. I bow down therefore, for the preſent at leaſt, to the counſel of ſo many ſages, and ſhrink from the crime of being "wiſer than the law."

LETTER XVII.

Priſons for ſafe cuſtody merely.

A WORD or two reſpecting the condition of *offenders before conviction:* or, if that expreſſion ſhould appear to include a ſoleciſm, of perſons accuſed, who either for want of bail or as charged with offences not bailable, have hitherto been made, through negligence or neceſſity, to ſhare by anticipation ſo much of the fate of convicts, as impriſonment more or leſs rigid may amount to.

To perſons thus circumſtanced, the inſpection principle would apply, as far as *ſafe cuſtody* was concerned, with as much advantage as to convicts. But as there can be no ground for puniſhing them, any otherwiſe than in ſo far as the *reſtraint* neceſſary for ſafe cuſtody has the effect of puniſhment, there can be as little ground for ſubjecting them to *ſolitude*; unleſs where that circumſtance ſhould alſo appear neceſſary, either to ſafe-cuſtody, or to prevent that mental infection, which novices in the

arts of diſhoneſty, and in debauchery the parent of diſhoneſty, are ſo much in danger of contracting, from the maſters of thoſe arts. In this view therefore the *partitions* might appear to ſome an unneceſſary ingredient in the compoſition of the building: though I confeſs, from the conſideration juſt alledged, they would not appear in that light to me. Communication muſt likewiſe be allowed to the priſoners with their friends and legal aſſiſtants, for the purpoſe of ſettling their affairs, and concerting their defence.

As forced labour is puniſhment, labour muſt not here be forced. For the ſame reaſon, and becauſe the privation of ſuch comforts of any kind as a man's circumſtances allow him is alſo puniſhment, neither ſhould the free admiſſion of ſuch comforts, as far as is conſiſtent with ſobriety, be denied; nor, if the keeper is permitted to concern himſelf in any part of the trade, ſhould he be permitted to make a greater profit than would be made by other traders.

But amongſt perſons of ſuch a deſcription and in ſuch a multitude, there will always be a certain number, nor that probably an inconſiderable one, who will poſſeſs no means of ſubſiſtence whatever of their own. Theſe then will, in ſo far, come under a predicament not very diſſimilar to that of convicts in a penitentiary-houſe. Whatever works

they

they may be capable of, there is no reaſon why ſubſiſtence ſhould be given to them, any more than to perſons free from ſuſpicion and at large, but as the price for work, ſuppoſing them able to perform it. But as this ability is a fact the judging of which is a matter of great nicety, too much it may be thought by far to be intruſted to ſuch hands, if to any, ſome allowance muſt therefore be made them *gratis*, and that at leaſt as good a one as I recommended for the Penitentiary-houſe. In order to ſupply the defects of this allowance, the point then will be, to provide ſome ſort of work for ſuch, who not having trades of their own which they can work at, are yet willing to take work, if they can get it. If to find ſuch work might be difficult, even in a houſe of correction, on account of the ſhortneſs of the time which there may be for learning work, for the ſame reaſon it ſhould be ſtill more difficult, in a priſon appropriated to ſafe-cuſtody before conviction, at leaſt in caſes where, as it will ſome times happen, the commitment precedes the trial but a few days. If on the ground of being particularly likely to have it in his power to provide work, the contracting keeper of a penitentiary-houſe ſhould be deemed the fitteſt perſon for the keeping of a *ſafe-cuſtody houſe* (for ſo I would wiſh to call it rather than a priſon) in other reſpects he might be thought leſs fit, rather than more ſo. In a Penitentiary-houſe he is an extortioner by trade: a trade he muſt wholly unlearn,

every

every time he ſets his foot in a ſafe-cuſtody-houſe, on pain of ſuch puniſhment as unlicenſed extortioners may deſerve. But it by no means follows, becauſe the keeper of a Penitentiary-houſe has found one or perhaps half a dozen ſorts of work, any of which a perſon may make himſelf tolerably maſter of in the courſe of a few months, that he ſhould be in poſſeſſion of any that might be performed without learning, or learnt in a few days. If therefore, for frugality's ſake, or any other convenience, any other eſtabliſhments were taken to combine with that of a ſafe-cuſtody-houſe, a houſe of correction would ſeem better ſuited to ſuch a purpoſe, than a Penitentiary-houſe. But without conſidering it as matter of neceſſity to have recourſe to ſuch ſhifts, the eligibility of which might depend upon local and other particular conſiderations, I ſhould hope that employments would not be wanting, and thoſe capable of affording a moderately good ſubſiſtence, for which a man of ordinary faculties would be as well qualified the firſt inſtant as at the end of ſeven years. I could almoſt venture to mention examples, but that the reaſons ſo often given ſtop my pen.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

Manufactories.

AFTER ſo much as has been ſaid, on the application of our principle to the buſineſs of manufactories conſidered as carried on by forced labour, you will think a very few words more than ſufficient, in the view of applying it to manufactures carried on upon the ordinary plan of freedom.

The centrality of the preſiding perſon's ſituation will have its uſe at all events; for the purpoſe of direction and order at leaſt, if for no other. The concealment of his perſon will be of uſe, in as far as controul may be judged uſeful. As to partitions, whether they would be more ſerviceable in the way of preventing diſtraction, or diſſerviceable by impeding communication, will depend upon the particular nature of the particular manufacture. In ſome manufactories they will have a further uſe, by the convenience they may afford for ranging a greater number of tools than could otherwiſe be ſtowed

ſtowed, within the workman's reach. In nice buſineſſes, ſuch as that of watch-making, where conſiderable damage might reſult from an accidental jog or a momentary diſtraction, ſuch partitions, I underſtand, are uſual.

Whatever be the manufacture, the utility of the principle is obvious and inconteſtable, in all caſes where the workmen are paid according to their *time*. Where they are paid by the *piece*, there the intereſt which the workman has in the value of his work ſuperſedes the uſe of coercion, and of every expedient calculated to give force to it. In this caſe, I ſee no other uſe to be made of the inſpection principle, than in as far as inſtruction may be wanted, or in the view of preventing any waſte or other damage, which would not of itſelf come home to the workman, in the way of diminiſhing his earnings, or in any other ſhape.

Were a manufactory of any kind to be eſtabliſhed upon this principle, the *central lodge* would probably be made uſe of as the compting-houſe: and, if more branches than one were carried on under the ſame roof, the accounts belonging to each branch would be kept in the correſponding parts of the lodge. The lodge would alſo ſerve as a ſort of temporary ſtore room, into which the tools and materials would be brought from the work-

houſes,

houſes, and from whence they would be delivered out to the workmen all around, as well as finiſhed work received, as occaſion might require.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

Mad-houſes.

I Come now with pleaſure, notwithſtanding the ſadneſs of the ſubject, to an inſtance in which the application of the principle will be of the lenient caſt altogether; I mean that of the melancholy abodes appropriated to the reception of the inſane. And here, perhaps, a noble Lord now in adminiſtration might find ſome little aſſiſtance lent, to the humane and ſalutary regulations for which we are chiefly indebted to his care *.

That any of the receptacles at preſent ſubſiſting ſhould be pulled down, only to make room for others on the inſpection principle, is neither to be expected nor to be wiſhed. But, ſhould any buildings that may be erected in future for this purpoſe, be made to receive the inſpection form, the object of ſuch inſtitutions could ſcarce fail of receiving

* Lord Sydney; who in the Houſe of Commons brought in the bill for the regulation of Mad-houſes, which afterwards paſſed into an act.

receiving ſome ſhare of its ſalutary influence. The powers of the inſane, as well as thoſe of the wicked, are capable of being directed either againſt their fellow-creatures or againſt themſelves. If, in the latter caſe nothing leſs than perpetual chains ſhould be availing, yet in all inſtances where only the former danger is to be apprehended, ſeparate cells, expoſed, as in the caſe of priſons to inſpection, would render the uſe of chains and other modes of corporal ſufferance as unneceſſary in this caſe as in any. And with regard to the conduct of the keepers, and the need which the patients have to be kept, the natural and not diſcommendable jealouſy of abuſe would, in this inſtance as in the former ones, find a much readier ſatisfaction than it could any where at preſent.

But without thinking of erecting mad-houſes on purpoſe, if we aſk Mr. Howard, he will tell us, if I do not miſrecollect, that there are few priſons or work-houſes but what are applied occaſionally to this uſe. Indeed a receptacle of one or other of theſe deſcriptions is the ready, and I believe the only reſource, which magiſtrates find veſted in their hands. Hence it was, he ſo often found his ſenſes aſſailed with that ſtrange and unſeemly mixture of calamity and guilt; lunatics raving and felons rioting in the ſame room. But in every penal Inſpection-houſe, every vacant cell

would afford theſe afflicted beings an apartment exempt from diſturbance, and adapted to their wants.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

Hoſpitals.

IF any thing could ſtill be wanting to ſhew how far this plan is from any neceſſary connection with ſevere and coercive meaſures, there cannot be a ſtronger conſideration than that of the advantage with which it applies to *hoſpitals:* eſtabliſhments of which the ſole object is the relief of the afflicted, whom their own entreaties have introduced. Tenacious as ever of the principle of *omnipreſence*, I take it for granted that the whole tribe of medical curators, the *ſurgeon*, the *apothecary*, the *matron*, to whom I could wiſh to add even the *phyſician*, could the eſtabliſhment be but ſufficient to make it worth his while, find in the inſpection lodge and what apartments might be added above it, their conſtant reſidence. Here the phyſician and the apothecary might know with certainty, that the preſcription which the one had ordered and the other made up, had been adminiſtered at the exact time, and in the exact manner in which it was ordered

dered to be adminiſtered. Here the ſurgeon would be ſure that his inſtructions and directions had been followed in all points, by his pupils and aſſiſtants. Here the faculty in all its branches, might with the leaſt trouble poſſible, watch as much as they choſe to watch, of the progreſs of the diſeaſe and the influence of the remedy. Complaints from the ſick might be received, the inſtant the cauſe of the complaint, real or imaginary, occurred: though, as miſconduct would be followed by inſtant reprehenſion, ſuch complaints muſt be proportionably rare.

The ſeparation of the cells might be in part continued either for comfort, or for decency. Curtains inſtead of grating, would give the patient, when they thought fit, the option of being ſeen. Partitions of greater ſolidity, and extent, might divide the fabric into different wards, confining infection, adapting themſelves to the varieties of diſeaſe, and affording upon occaſion diverſities of temperature.

In hot weather to ſave the room from being heated, and the patients from being incommoded by the ſun, *ſhades* or awnings might ſecure the windows towards the ſouth.

I do not mean to entertain you here with a ſyſtem of phyſic, or a treatiſe upon *airs*. But a word

word or two on this ſubject you muſt permit me. Would the cielings of the cell be high enough? Is the plan of conſtruction ſufficiently favourable to ventilation? I have not the good fortune to have read a book publiſhed not long ago on the ſubject of hoſpitals, by our countryman Mr. Aikin; though I remember ſeeing ſome account of it in a Review. But I cannot help begging of you to recommend to the notice of your medical friends the peruſal of Dr. *De Maret*'s paper, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Dijon* for the year 1782. If either his facts or his reaſoning are to be truſted, not only no loftineſs of cieling is ſufficient to enſure to ſuch a building a purity of air, but it may appear queſtionable whether ſuch an effect be upon the whole promoted by that circumſtance *.

His great anxiety ſeems to be, that at ſome known period or periods of the day, the whole maſs of air may undergo at once a total change, not truſting to partial and precarious evacuations by opening here and there a window: ſtill leſs to any height or other amplitude of room: a circumſtance which of itſelf tends to render them ſtill more partial and precarious. Proſcribing all rectilinear

* To an Hoſpital lately built at Lyons a vaſt dome had been given in this view. It had been expected that the foul air ſhould be found at top, while that near the floor ſhould have ſweet and wholeſome. On the contrary, ſubſtances which turned putrid at the bottom in a ſingle day remained ſweet above at the end of five days.

tilinear walls and flat cielings forming angles at the junctions, he recommends accordingly for the inſide of his building, the form of a long oval, curved in every direction except that of the floor, placing a door at each end. By throwing open theſe doors, he ſeems to make it pretty apparent, that the ſmalleſt draught will be ſufficient to effect an entire change in the whole ſtock of air: ſince at which ever end a current of air happens firſt to enter, it will carry all before it till it gets to the other. Opening windows or other apertures diſpoſed in any other part of the room, would tend rather to diſturb and counteract the current than to promote it.

From the ſame reaſoning it will follow, that the *circular* form demanded as the beſt of all by the inſpection principle, muſt in a view to ventilation have in a conſiderable degree the advantage over the *rectilinear*: and even, were the difference ſufficiently material, the inſpection principle might be applied to his oval with little or no diſadvantage. The form of the inſpection lodge might in this caſe follow that of the containing building: and that central part ſo far from obſtructing the ventilation, would rather as it ſhould ſeem, aſſiſt it, encreaſing the force of the current by the compreſſure.

It ſhould ſeem alſo, that to a circular building the central lodge would thus give the ſame aptitude to ventilation, which the Doctor's oval form poſſeſſes of itſelf.

To ſave his patients from catching cold while the current is paſſing through the room, the Doctor allows to each a ſhort *ſcreen*, like the head of a cradle, to be reſted on the bed.

Here the uſe of the tin *ſpeaking-tubes* would be ſeen again, in the means they would afford to the patient, though he were equal to no more than a whiſper, of conveying to the lodge the moſt immediate notice of his wants; and receiving anſwers in a tone equally unproductive of diſturbance.

Something I could have wiſhed to ſay, on the important difference between the general and comparatively immaterial impurity reſulting merely from the *phlogiſton*, and the various particular impurities conſtituted by the various products of *putrefaction*, or by the different matters of the various *contagions*. Againſt theſe very different dangers the mode and meaſure of precaution might admit of no ſmall difference. But this belongs not neceſſarily to the ſubject, and you would not thank me, any more than gentlemen of the faculty who

who underſtand it better than I, or gentlemen at large who would not wiſh to underſtand it.

An hoſpital built and conducted upon a plan of this kind, of the ſucceſs of which every body might be an obſerver, acceſſible to the patients friends, who, without incommoding or being incommoded, might ſee the whole economy of it carried on under their eye, would loſe, it is to be hoped, a great part of thoſe repelling terrors, which deprive of the benefit of ſuch inſtitutions many objects whom prejudice in league with poverty, either debars altogether from relief, or drives to ſeek it in much leſs eligible ſhapes. Who knows but that the certainty of a medical attendance not occaſional, ſhort lived or even precarious, as at preſent, but conſtant and uninterrupted, might not render ſuch a ſituation preferable even to home, in the eyes of many perſons who could afford to pay for it? and that the erection of a building of this kind might turn to account in the hands of ſome enterprizing practitioner?

A *priſon*, as I obſerved in a former letter, includes an hoſpital. In priſons on this conſtruction, every cell may receive the properties of an hoſpital, without undergoing any change. The whole priſon would be perhaps a better hoſpital than any building known hitherto by that name. Yet ſhould it be thought of uſe, a few cells might be appropriated

appropriated to that purpoſe: and perhaps it may be thought adviſable that ſome caſes of infection ſhould be thrown out and lodged under another roof.

But if infection in general muſt be ſent to be *cured* elſewhere, there is no ſpot in which infection originating in negligence can, either in the *riſe* or *ſpread* of it, meet with ſuch obſtacles as here. In what other inſtance as in this, will you ſee the intereſts of the governor and the governed in this important particular, ſo perfectly confounded and made one? Thoſe of the keeper with thoſe of the priſoners, thoſe of the medical curator with thoſe of the patients? Clean or unclean, ſafe or unſafe, he runs the chance that they do: if he lets them poiſon themſelves, he lets them poiſon *him*. Encompaſſed on all ſides by a multitude of perſons whoſe good or bad condition depends upon himſelf, he ſtands as a hoſtage in his own hands for the ſalubrity of the whole.

LETTER XXI.

Schools.

AFTER applying the inſpection principle firſt to priſons, and through mad houſes bringing it down to hoſpitals, will the parental feelings endure my applying it at laſt to ſchools? Will the obſervation of its efficacy in preventing the irregular application of undue hardſhip even to the guilty, be ſufficient to diſpel the apprehenſion of its tendency to introduce tyranny into the abodes of innocence and youth?

Applied to theſe you will find it capable of two very diſtinguiſhable degrees of extenſion. It may be confined to the hours of ſtudy; or it may be made to fill the whole circle of time, including the hours of repoſe and refreſhment and recreation.

To the firſt of theſe applications the moſt captious timidity, I think, could hardly fancy an objection concerning the hours of ſtudy, there can, I think

I think, be but one wiſh; that they ſhould be employed in ſtudy. It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that gratings, bars, and bolts, and every circumſtance from which an Inſpection-houſe can derive a terrific character, have nothing to do here. All play, all chattering, in ſhort all diſtraction of every kind, is effectually baniſhed by the central and covered ſituation of the maſter, ſeconded by partitions or ſcreens between the ſcholars as ſlight as you pleaſe The different meaſures and caſts of talent, by this means rendered perhaps for the firſt time, diſtinctly diſcernible, will indicate the different degrees of attention and modes of culture moſt ſuitable to each particular diſpoſition; and incurable and irreproachable dulneſs or imbecility will no longer be puniſhed for the ſins of idleneſs or obſtinacy. That ſpecies of fraud at *Weſtminſter* called *cribbing*, a vice thought hitherto congenial to ſchools, will never creep in here. That ſyſtem of premature corruption, in which idleneſs is ſcreened by opulence, and the honour due to talents or induſtry is let out for hire, will be compleatly done away; and a nobleman may ſtand as good a chance of knowing ſomething as a common man.

Nor, in point of preſent enjoyment, will the ſcholars be loſers by the change. Thoſe ſinkings of the heart at the thoughts of a taſk undone, thoſe galling ſtruggles between the paſſion for play and

and the fear of puniſhment, would there be unknown. During the hours of buſineſs, habit, no longer broken in upon by accident would ſtrip the maſter's preſence of its terrors, without depriving it of its uſe. And the time allotted for ſtudy being faithfully and rigidly appropriated to that ſervice, the leſs of it would ſerve.

The ſeparate ſpaces allotted for this purpoſe, would not in other reſpects be thrown away. A bed, a bureau, and a chair muſt be had at any rate: ſo that the only extraordinary expence in building would be for the *partitions*, for which a very ſlight thickneſs would ſuffice. The youth of either ſex might by this means ſleep, as well as ſtudy, under inſpection and alone; a circumſtance of no mean importance in many a parent's eye.

In the Royal Military School at Paris, the bedchambers (if my brother's memory does not deceive him) form two ranges on the two ſides of a long room; the inhabitants being ſeparated from one another by *partitions*, but expoſed alike to the view of a maſter at his walks, by a kind of a *grated window* in each door. This plan of conſtruction ſtruck him, he tells me, a good deal, as he walked over that eſtabliſhment (about a dozen years ago was it not?) with you: and poſſibly in that walk the foundation was laid for his Inſpection-houſe. If he there borrowed his idea, I hope he has

has not repaid it without intereſt. You will confeſs ſome difference, in point of facility, betwixt a ſtate of inceſſant walking and a ſtate of reſt: and in point of compleatneſs of inſpection, between viſiting two or three hundred perſons one after another, and ſeeing them at once.

In ſtating what this principle *will* do, in promoting the progreſs of inſtruction in every line, a word or two will be thought ſufficient to ſtate what it will *not* do. It *does* give every degree of efficacy which can be given to the influence of *puniſhment* and *reſtraint*. But it does nothing towards correcting the oppreſſive influence of puniſhment and reſtraint, by the enlivening and invigorating influence of *reward*. That nobleſt and brighteſt engine of diſcipline can by no other means be put to conſtant uſe in ſchools, than by the practice which at *Weſtminſter*, you know, goes by the name of *challenging*: an inſtitution, which paying merit in its fitteſt and moſt inexhauſtible coin, and even uniting in one impulſe the oppoſite powers of reward and puniſhment, holds out diſhonor for every attention a boy omits, and honor for every exertion he can beſtow.

With regard to the extending the range of inſpection over every moment of a boy's time, the ſentiments of mankind might not be altogether ſo unanimous. The notion indeed of moſt parents is,

is, I believe, that children cannot be too much under the maſter's eye: and if man were a conſiſtent animal, none who entertain that notion, but ſhould be fonder of the principle the farther they ſaw it purſued. But as conſiſtency is of all human qualities the moſt rare, it need not at all ſurprize us, if, of thoſe who in the preſent ſtate of things are moſt anxious on the head of the maſter's omnipreſence, many were to fly back and change their note, when they ſaw that point ſcrewed up at once to a pitch of perfection, ſo much beyond whatever they could have been accuſtomed to conceive.

Some there are at any rate, who before they came into ſo novel a ſcheme, would have many ſcruples to get over. Doubts would be ſtarted—whether it would be adviſable to apply ſuch conſtant and unremitting preſſure to the tender mind, and to give ſuch herculean and ineludible ſtrength to the gripe of power?—Whether perſons, of the caſt of character and extent of ideas that may be expected to be found in the common run of ſchool-maſters, are likely to be fit receptacles for an authority ſo much exceeding any thing that has been hitherto ſignified by *deſpotic?* Whether the *in*-attention of the maſter may not be as neceſſary to the *preſent* comfort of his *pupil*, in ſome reſpects, as the attention of the one may be to the *future* welfare of the other, in other reſpects?—Whether

the

the irretrievable check given to the free development of the intellectual part of his frame by this unintermitted preſſure, may not be productive of an imbecility ſimilar to that which would be produced by conſtant and long continued *bandages* on the corporal part?—Whether what is thus acquired in *regularity* may not be loſt in *energy*?—Whether that not leſs inſtructive, though leſs heeded, courſe of diſcipline, which in the ſtruggles of paſſion againſt paſſion, and of reaſon againſt reaſon, is adminiſtered by the children to one another and to themſelves, and in which the conflicts and competitions that are to form the buſineſs of maturity are rehearſed in miniature; whether I ſay, this moral and moſt important branch of inſtruction, would not by theſe means be ſacrificed, to the rudiments and thoſe ſeldom the moſt uſeful, of the intellectual?—Whether the defects, with which *private* education has been charged in its compariſon with public, would not here be carried to the extreme?—And whether, in being made a little better acquainted with the world of abſtraction than they might have been otherwiſe, the youth thus pent up may not have been kept more than proportionably more ignorant of the world of realities into which they are about to launch?—Whether the liberal ſpirit and energy of a free citizen would not be exchanged for the mechanical diſcipline of a ſoldier, or the auſterity of a monk?

monk?—And whether the reſult of this high-wrought contrivance might not be the conſtructing a ſet of *machines* under the ſimilitude of *men?*

To give a ſatisfactory anſwer to all theſe queries, which are mighty fine, but do not any of them come home to the point, it would be neceſſary to recur at once to the end of education.—Would *happineſs* be moſt likly to be encreaſed or diminiſhed by this diſcipline? Call them ſoldiers, call them monks, call them machines, ſo they were but happy ones, I ſhould not care. Wars and ſtorms are beſt to read of, but peace and calms are better to enjoy. Don't be frightened now, my dear * * * * * *, and think that I am going to entertain you with a courſe of moral philoſophy, or even with a ſyſtem of education. Happineſs is a very pretty thing to feel, but very dry to talk about: ſo you may unknit your brow, for I ſhall ſay no more about the matter. One thing only I will add, which is, that whoever ſets up an Inſpection-ſchool upon the tip top of the principle, had need to be very ſure of the maſter: for the boy's body is not more the child of his father's, than his mind will be of the maſter's mind; with no other difference than what there is between *command* on one ſide and *ſubjection* on the other.

Some of theſe fine queries which I have been treating you with, and finer ſtill, *Rouſſeau* would have

have entertained us with; nor do I imagine he would have put his *Emilius* into an Inſpection-houſe: but I think he would have been glad of ſuch a ſchool for his *Sophia*.

Addiſon, the grave and moral Addiſon, in his *Spectator* or his *Tatler*, I forget which, ſuggeſts a contrivance for trying *virginity* by means of *lions*. You may there find many curious diſquiſitions concerning the meaſures and degrees of that ſpecies of purity; all which you will be better pleaſed to have from that grave author than from me. But, without plunging into any ſuch diſcuſſions, the higheſt degree poſſible, whatſoever that may be, is no more than any body might make ſure of, only by transferring damſels at as early an age as may be thought ſufficient, into a ſtrict Inſpection-ſchool. Addiſon's ſcheme was not only a penal but a bloody one: and what havock it might have made in the population of the country, I tremble but to think of. Give thanks then to *Diana* and the *eleven thouſand virgins* and to whatever powers preſide over virginity in either *calendar*, for ſo happy a diſcovery as this of your friend's. There you ſaw blood and uncertainty: here you ſee certainty without blood. What advantage might be made by ſetting up a boarding-ſchool for young ladies upon this plan, and with what eagerneſs gentlemen who are curious in ſuch matters would crowd to ſuch a ſchool to chooſe themſelves wives,

is too obvious to inſiſt on. The only inconvenience I can think of is, that if the inſtitution were to become general, Mrs. Ch. H. and other gentlewomen of her calling, would be obliged either to give up houſe-keeping, or take up with low wenches or married ladies.

Dr. Brown the eſtimator would have been ſtark mad for an Inſpection-ſchool upon the very extremity of the principle: provided always he were to been head-maſter: and then he would have had no other ſchools but thoſe. His antagoniſt, Dr. *Prieſtly*, would I imagine, be altogether as averſe to it; unleſs perhaps for experiment's ſake, upon a ſmall ſcale, juſt enough to furniſh an appendix to *Hartley upon Man*.

You have a controverſy, I find, in England, about *Sunday Schools*. Schools upon the extremity of the Inſpection-principle would, I am apt to think, find more advocates among the patrons, than among the oppugners, of that meaſure.

We are told, ſomewhere or other, of a King of Egypt (*Pſammitichus* I think is his name) who thinking to rediſcover the loſt original of language, contrived to breed up two children in a ſequeſtered ſpot, ſecluded, from the hour of their birth, from all converſe with the reſt of human kind. No great matters were, I believe, collected from this experiment.

experiment. An Inſpection-houſe, to which a ſet of children had been conſigned from their birth, might afford experiments enough that would be rather more intereſting. What ſay you to a *Foundling Hoſpital* upon this principle? Would ******'s *manes* give you leave to let your preſent ſchool and build another upon this ground? If I do not miſrecollect, your brethren in that truſt have gone ſo far as to make a point, where it can be effected, of taking the children out of the hands of their parents as much as poſſible, and even, if poſſible, altogether. If you have gone thus far, you have paſſed the Rubicon; you may even clap them up in an Inſpection-houſe, and then you make of them what you pleaſe. You need never grudge the parents *a peep behind the curtain* in the maſter's lodge. There, as often as they had a mind, they might ſee their children thriving and learning, if that would ſatisfy them, without interrupting buſineſs or counteracting diſcipline. Improving upon Pſammitichus's experiment, you might keep up a ſixteen or eighteen years ſeparation between the male and female part of your young ſubjects: and at the end of that period ſee what the language of love would be, when *Father Francis's Ganders* were turned into *Father Francis's Geeſe*.

I know who would have been delighted to ſet up an Inſpection-ſchool, if it were only for the experiment's

experiment's ſake, and that is *Helvetius:* at leaſt if he had been ſteady to his principles, which he was ſaid to be, for by that contrivance, and by that alone, he might have been enabled to give an experimental proof of the truth of his poſition (ſuppoſing it to be true) that any body may be taught any thing, one perſon as well as another. It would have been his fault, if what he requires as a condition, viz. that the ſubjects of the experiment be placed in circumſtances exactly ſimilar, were not fulfilled.

A rare field for diſcovery in *metaphyſics:* a ſcience which, now for the firſt time, may be put to the teſt of experiment, like any other. Books, converſation, ſenſible objects, every thing might be *given*. The genealogy of each obſervable idea might be traced through all its degrees, with the utmoſt nicety: the parent ſtocks being all known and numbered. Party men, controvertialiſts of every deſcription, and all other ſuch epicures, whoſe mouth waters at the mammon of power, might here give themſelves a rich treat, adapted to their ſeveral taſtes, unembittered by contradiction. Two and two might here be leſs than four, or the moon might be made of green cheeſe, if any pious founder, who were rich enough, choſe to have her of that material. Surrounded by a circle of pupils, obſequious beyond any thing as yet

yet known under the name of obſequiouſneſs, their happineſs might in ſuch a manner be compleat, if any moderate number of adherents could content them; which unhappily is not the caſe. At the end of ſome twenty or five and twenty years, introduce the ſcholars of the different ſchools to one another (obſerving firſt to tie their hands behind them) and you will ſee good ſport; though perhaps you may think there is enough of that kind of ſport already. But if you throw out this hint to any body, you will take care, as far as ſects and religions are concerned, not to mention names: for of theſe how few are there but would be ready to pull us to pieces, if they ſaw their rivals ſet down upon the ſame line, as candidates for the ſame advantage? — And this is what we ſhould get by our impartiality. You may however venture to hint, that the money which is now laid out for propagating controverſy, by founding ſermons and lectures, might be laid out with greater certainty of advantage in the founding *controverſial Inſpection-ſchools*. The preachers muſt be ſad bunglers indeed, if they had not there as many adherents as auditors: which is not always the caſe in the world at large. As to flagellation, and other ſuch ceremonies, which more through cuſtom than neceſſity, are uſed by way of puniſhment in ſchools, but which under ſome inſtitutions form the *routine* of life, I need not take up your time in ſhewing, how much the punctuality of thoſe tranſactions

tranſactions might, in the latter caſe, be improved by the inſpection principle. Theſe monaſtic accompliſhments have not been in faſhion in our country for ſome ages: therefore it would be loſt labour to recommend the principle in that view. Neither are they a whit more ſo where I write; ſo that I ſhould get as little thanks for my pains, were I to make ſuch a propoſal here. On the contrary we are diſſolving monaſteries as you would lumps of ſugar. A noble lump for inſtance, we got the other day at *Kieff*, enough to feed a brace of regiments, beſides pickings for other people. But if in my return to England, or at any other time, I ſhould happen to go by the monaſtery of *La Trappe*, or any other where they are in earneſt about ſuch buſineſs, it would be cruelty to deny them the aſſiſtance it might be made to receive from the inſpection principle. *Flinching* would then be as impracticable in a monaſtery, as *cribbing* in a ſchool. Old ſcores might thus be rubbed out with as much regularity as could be deſired:—nor would the pride of *Tobyſo* have been ſo long a diſenchanting, could her *Knight* have put his coward *Squire* into an Inſpection-houſe.

Neither do I mean to give any inſtructions to the *Turks* for applying the inſpection principle to their *Seraglios*: no not though I were to go through *Conſtantinople* again twenty times, notwithſtanding the

the great saving it would make in the article of *eunuchs*, of whom one trusty one, in the Inspection-lodge would be as good as half a hundred. The price of that kind of cattle could not fail of falling at least ten per cent. and the insurance upon marital honor at least as much, upon the bare hint given of such an establishment, in any of the Constantinople papers. But the mobbing I got at *Sheomlo*, only for taking a peep at the town from a thing they call a *minaret* (like our monument) in pursuance of invitation, has cancelled any claims they might have had upon me for the dinner they gave me at the *Divan*, had it been better than it was.

If the idea of some of these applications should have brought a smile upon your countenance, it won't hurt you, my dear * * * * * * nor should it hurt the principle. Your candour will prevent you from condemning a great and new invented instrument of government, because some of the purposes to which it is possible to apply it may appear useless, or trifling, or mischievous, or ridiculous. Its great excellence consists, in the great strength it is capable of giving to *any* institution it may be thought proper to apply it to. If any perverse applications should ever be made of it, they will lie, in this case as in others, at the doors of those who make them. Knives, however sharp,

are

are very uſeful things, and, for moſt purpoſes, the ſharper the more uſeful. I have no fear therefore of your wiſhing to forbid the uſe of them, becauſe they have been ſometimes employed by ſchool-boys *to raiſe the devil* with, or by aſſaſſins to cut throats with.

I hope no critic of more learning than candour will do an Inſpection-houſe ſo much injuſtice as to compare it to *Dionyſius's ear*. The object of that contrivance was, to know what priſoners ſaid without their ſuſpecting any ſuch thing. The object of the inſpection principle is directly the reverſe; it is to make them not only *ſuſpect*, but be *aſſured*, that whatever they do is known, even though that ſhould not be the caſe. Detection is the object of the firſt: *prevention*, that of the latter. In the former caſe the ruling perſon is a ſpy; in the latter he is a monitor. The object of the firſt was to pry into the ſecret receſſes of the heart; the latter, confining its attention to *overt* acts, leaves thoughts and fancies to their proper *ordinary*, the court *above*.

When I conſider the extenſive variety of purpoſes to which this principle may be applied, and the certain efficacy which, as far as I can truſt my own conceptions, it promiſes to them all, my wonder is, not only this plan ſhould never have hitherto been

been put in practice, but how any other ſhould ever have been thought of.

In ſo many edifices, as, from the time of the conqueſt to the preſent, have been built for the expreſs purpoſe of ſafe cuſtody, does it ſound natural that, inſtead of placing the priſoners under the inſpection of their keepers, the one claſs ſhould have been lodged at one end, perhaps, of a vaſt building, and the other at another end?—As if the object of the eſtabliſhment were, that thoſe who wiſhed to eſcape might carry on their ſchemes, in concert and at leiſure. I ſhould ſuppoſe the inſpection principle muſt long ago have occured to the ingenious, and been rejected by the judicious, could I, after all my efforts, conceive a reaſon for the rejection. The circular form, notwithſtanding its taking demonſtrably leſs materials than any other, may, for aught I know, on its firſt conſtruction, be more expenſive than one of equal dimenſions in any of the ordinary forms. But this objection, which has no other ſource than the looſe and random ſurmiſe of one who has had no experience in building, can never have held good in compariſon with all the other priſons that we have, if in truth it holds good in compariſon with any. Witneſs the maſſy piles of *Newgate*, of which the enormous, and upon the common plans by no means unneceſſary expence,

has been laid out in the purchaſe of a degree of ſecurity, not equal to that which the circular form would have given to the ſlighteſt building that could be made to hold together. In ſhort, as often as I indulge myſelf the liberty of fancying that my own notions on this head may prove conformable to other people's, I think of the old ſtory of *Columbus* and his *egg*.

I have now ſet this *egg* of ours on its end. Whether it will ſtand faſt, and bear the ſhocks of diſcuſſion, remains to be decided by experience. I think you will not find it ſtale; but its freſhneſs is a circumſtance, that may not give it an equal reliſh to every palate.

What would you ſay, by the gradual adoption and diverſified application of this ſingle principle you ſhould ſee a new ſcene of things ſpread itſelf over the face of civilized ſociety?—Morals reformed, health preſerved, induſtry invigorated, inſtruction diffuſed, public burthens lightened, economy ſeated as it were upon a rock, the Gordian knot of the poor-laws not cut but untied—all by a ſimple idea in architecture? *

I am, &c.

* This plan happened not to come in time for the particular purpoſe it was deſigned for.

POSTSCRIPT.

PANOPTICON:

POSTSCRIPT;

PART I:

CONTAINING

FURTHER PARTICULARS AND ALTERATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE

PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION

ORIGINALLY PROPOSED;

PRINCIPALLY ADAPTED TO THE PURPOSE OF A

PANOPTICON

PENITENTIARY-HOUSE.

By JEREMY BENTHAM,

OF LINCOLN'S-INN, ESQ.

DUBLIN:

THOMAS BYRNE.

M.DCC.XCI.

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POSTSCRIPT.—PART I. ERRATA.

Page	Line	For	read
130	1	— In	— Under
—	3	— 24	— 27
—	4	— 8	— 5
140	4	— practicable	— impracticable
143	36	— favourable, produce	— favourable to
148	9	— which	— in which
153	21	— forgotten	— foregone
157	15	— more of it	— more
164	3	— has appropriated	— thus appropriated
165	21	— of the cieling	— to the cieling
172	3	— care	— cafe
173	15	— to have	— not to have
173	21	— direction	— devotion
173	24	— *puto da je*	— *auto-da-fé*
180	21	— the employment	— his employment
183	10	— us	— not
183	21	— marked	— maſked
188	11	— $\frac{1}{2}$	— $1\frac{1}{2}$
190	8	— if a perſon	— of a perſon
199	17	— be a ſingle	— to be a ſingle
203	14	— in each	— on each
203	20	— nine remains	— nine remain
209	9	— Chapel—viſitors'	— Chapel-viſitors'
210	5	— Staircaſe, doors	— Staircaſe-doors
212	6	— Cells	— Cells in the Dead Part
214	3	— thoſe upper	— thoſe who go to the upper
214	6	— attached to it the Priſoners' Galleries and Stair-caſes, it may be objected that theſe poſſeſs	— attached to it, it may be objected that the Priſoners' Galleries and Staircaſes poſſeſs
224	20	after *Exit* inſert: On the left hand of the Diametrical Paſſage is a *Staircaſe* leading to the Inſpector's Lodge.	
224	21	— at it origin	— at its origin
226	9	— diſtant object	— diſtinct object
287	14	— Approach	— the Approach
295	17	— moral fortification	— mural fortification
296	4	— certain ſuppoſition	— a certain ſuppoſition
298	11	— three walls	— two walls
303	8	— reſpiration	— organs of reſpiration
312	32	— temperation	— temperature
315	21	— warming-chamber	— warming-chambers
316	28	— ſmall ſtoves	— ſuch ſmall ſtoves
318	13	— on a perpendicular	— in a perpendicular
320	8	— one	— air
326	11	— which without	— without
335	22	— The ſum	— The ſcene
340	21	— There, rain	— Here, rain

In the Table, between p. 275 and p. 278, laſt line of the page, for where read while.

POSTSCRIPT.

§ 1. *PRINCIPAL PARTICULARS.*

Principal Particulars either ſettled or altered, ſince the firſt haſty deſign, as deſcribed in Letter II. and imperfectly repreſented in Plate I. *See Plate II.*

1. ANNULAR WELL, or vacancy, all the way up, crowned by an uninterrupted opening *Sky-light*, inſtead of Stories of Intermediate Annular Area to every two *Stories* of Cells.

2. *Cells* enlarged in depth, by throwing into them the ſpace occupied in the firſt deſign by the *Protracted Partitions*, and by giving to the Upper Row in each pair the ſame depth as to the Under Row.

3. *Cells*, two laid into one.

4. *Cells*, *number of Stories*, ſix inſtead of four.

5. *Chapel*, a regular one, now inſerted in the center: partly inſtead of the ſmall Central Area, partly at the expence of the ſeveral ſtories of Inſpection Lodge.

6. Inſtead of three *ſimilar* ſtories of *Inſpection-Lodge*, in the two upper ſtories Annular *Inſpection-Galleries*, backed by the Chapel-Galleries, in the loweſt ſtory *annular Inſpection Gallery*, encloſing a *circular Inſpector's-Lodge*.

7. No *Cupola*, a part inſerted in the firſt haſty ſketch, rather by way of finiſh, than with a view to any ſpecial uſe.

8. The *Dead part*, viz. that part of the circuit in which there are no Cells, here occupying 5-24ths of the circuit inſtead of 2-48ths, *i. e.* 1-24th: in height five ſtories out of ſix, inſtead of two out of four, and covered by a *projecting Front*.—N. B. This dead part, depending in point of magnitude and diſpoſition ſo much upon local and other individual *data*, could not well be ſettled in all its parts, and accordingly is not repreſented in the draught.

9. *Communications*, now partly altered, partly fixed: particularly the only thorough paſſage, termed the *Diametrical Paſſage*, now cut through a ſunk ſtory, and at its exit, joined by a *Covered-Way*,

Way, projected downwards from the lowermoſt Inſpection-Gallery, and terminating in a central *Look-out* for the inſpection of the yards.

10. The form *polygonal* (a double duodecagon, or polygon of 24 ſides) inſtead of circular.

11. Diameter —— According to the preſent draught 120 feet (excluſive of the projecting Front) inſtead of 100 feet, the diameter thought of in the original imperfect ſketch with a view to local circumſtances. *

12. *Materials—Iron* much employed, and uſed for the Cell-Galleries, for Staircaſes, for Doors, and even for Pillars, chiefly hollow, inſtead of brick, ſtone, or wood.—*Plaiſter*, propoſed for the Cell-floors.

13. Mode of ſupplying the building with water: chiefly by an *Annular Ciſtern* running round the top of the building: under the roof, immediately within the wall.

14. Mode of *Warming* the Building: by ſtreams of freſh air, heated in the new way by paſſing through

* Twenty foot, the addition made to the diameter, multiplied by three gives 60, the addition to the circumference: this divided by 24, the number of the cells, gives 2½, the addition made to each cell at the outſide of the wall; *i. e.* at the extreme circumference, round which the polygon is circumſcribed.

through the inſide of veſſels, to which fire is applied on the outſide: inſtead of ſtagnant air, heated by its contiguity to hollow receptacles to which fire is applied on the inſide, as in the ordinary German ſtoves and hot-houſe flues.

15. *Outlets* or *External Area*, ſettled in ſubordination to the inſpection principle: the *Covered-Way* a *ſemi-diameter* of the area, terminating in a *central Look-out*, inſtead of encompaſſing the area, and being attached to the ſurrounding wall.—*See Plate* 3.

16. *Approach* and ſurrounding fences, now firſt ſettled: and that too in ſtrict ſubordination to the ſame principle. *See again Plate* 3.

N. B. The degree of anxiety, diſplayed in the plan of exterior fortification there exhibited, had a more particular view to the ſtate of things in Ireland than in England.

With relation to moſt of theſe points, further elucidation will be neceſſary: and with regard to ſeveral of them, ſomething in the way of juſtification will be expected: ſuch will be the buſineſs of the enſuing pages.

§ 2. *GENERAL*

§ 2. *GENERAL VIEW OF THE WHOLE EDIFICE.*

In a General View of the whole Building, according to its preſent form, three very different though connected maſſes may be diſtinguiſhed.—

1. THE *Projecting Front:* a rectangular maſs, which, being deſigned to go towards furniſhing habitation for the Officers of the Eſtabliſhment, has little to diſtinguiſh it from a common dwelling-houſe.

2. The *Cellular* part: including as well that part of the circuit which is actually diſpoſed of in cells, as the *Dead part*, which for the ſake of ſtability it is thought neceſſary to lay out in the cellular form, although for want of light, as being covered by the front, it would not be conveniently applicable to the ſame uſe.

3. The *Inſpection Tower:* comprehending on one ſtory the lowermoſt Inſpection-Gallery, with the incloſed Inſpector's Lodge; in another, the middlemoſt Inſpection-Gallery, in which is incloſed the lowermoſt Chapel-Gallery, and within that again

again the Area of the Chapel; * on a third, the uppermoſt Chapel-Gallery.

The Cellular maſs, together with the Inſpection-Tower incloſed within it, compoſe the characteriſtic part of the building: the projecting Front forms an accidental and ineſſential appendage.

The whole of the characteriſtic part may be conceived as compoſed of two Towers, one within the other, with the Annular Well between them. †

A particularity that will require to be conſtantly kept in mind is, that in the two polygono-cylindrical maſſes, the circumſcribing and the inſcribed, not only the numbers of the ſtories do not agree, the latter having but half the number of the former, but that no one ſtory in the interior part coincides in point of level with any one ſtory of the exterior that ſurrounds it. This want of coincidence is not an accidental but a characteriſtic and almoſt eſſential circumſtance: ſince it is by being placed about midway between the floor and the cieling of the lowermoſt of each pair of Cells that one floor in

* The Area of the Chapel cannot perhaps in ſtrictneſs be ſaid to form part of the ſame ſtory with the lowermoſt Chapel-gallery. The floor being ſeveral feet below the level of that of the Gallery, may be looked upon as forming in that part a ſtory by itſelf. But this want of exact coincidence is no more than what occurs frequently in common houſes.

† By analogy, the Inſpection-Tower might be termed the MEDULLARY part: the cellular part, the CORTICAL.

in each ſtory of the Inſpection Tower affords a perfect view of two ſtories in the Cellular part.

Principal Dimenſions of the *Polygonal* part, comprehending the *Cellular Part*, with the included *Inſpection-Tower*, being the whole of what is repreſented in Plate II.

Widths.

Semidiameter of the area of the Chapel, including the central aperture,		15
Width of a Chapel-Gallery,	—	12*
Width of an Inſpection-Gallery †,		5
Width of the Annular Area in the ſame ſtory, and Well over it,	—	7‡
—— of the Grated Annular Paſſage, encompaſſing the Annular Area on the ſunk ſtory, being the ſame width as that of the Cell-Galleries above,	—	4
Depth of a Cell within-ſide,	—	14‖
Thickneſs of the Wall,	—	5
	Total,	60
Add the other ſemidiameter,	—	60
	Total diameter	120

S In

* In ſome of the impreſſions of the Draught, by miſtake 9 feet only.

† In ſome of the impreſſions of the Draught, the lowermoſt of theſe Galleries has three feet of addition given to it, at the expence of the included Lodge: this addition it is now propoſed to take away, for the reaſons given in ſect. 8.

‡ In ſome of the impreſſions of the Draught, by miſtake 11 feet.

‖ In ſome of the impreſſions of the Draught, by miſtake 13 feet only.

In the Floor of the Chapel.

Semidiameter of the Inſpector's Lodge, thickneſs of the wall included,		24
Width of the Inſpection-Gallery,	—	8
		32
Add the other ſemidiameter,	——	32
Diameter of the building at the outer circumference of the Inſpector's Gallery in that ſtory,	— —	64

Which is the ſame as in the other ſtories.

Cellular Part alone.

Heights.

From the floor of the ſunk ſtory to the floor of the loweſt Cell level with the ground, including the thickneſs of the floor,	— —	7—6
From the floor to the crown of the arch in each Cell,	—	8—0
Thickneſs of the arch at the crown,		1—0
Height of the firſt floor of Cells from the ground, including the thickneſs of the floor above,	—	9—0
—— of the ſecond floor,		18—0

Heighth

only. Of the four additional feet thus given to the Intermediate Well, one was at the Expence of the Cells, the three others at the expence of the Chapel-Galleries. It is now, however, propoſed to allow it 1 foot, at the expence of thoſe Galleries, making at the diameter 8 feet inſtead of 7: excluſive of the 4, which, to the purpoſe of ventilation, may be conſidered as little different from ſo much void ſpace, being ſo imperfectly occupied by the Cell-Galleries, conſtructed of open work like balconies.

Brought Over, —		7—6
Heighth of the third floor,	27—0	
—— of the fourth floor,	36—0	
—— of the fifth floor,	45—0	
—— of the ſixth floor,		54—0
From the crown of the arch on the outſide to the loweſt part of the ſlanting roof within the walls,	3—0	
From thence to the level of that part of the roof where the Annular Sky-light begins,	5—0	
From thence to the level at which the Sky-light terminates,	5—6	
Thickneſs of the roof in that part	1—0	
	——	14—6
Total depth of the Annular Well	76—0	76—0
Height of the building from the ground in the Cellular part,	69—6	

Inſpection Tower alone.

Heights.

From the intermediate area to a level with the floor of the lowermoſt ſtory of cells,	7—6
Thence to the floor of the Inſpection Gallery	4—0
From the floor of the Inſpection Gallery, to the roof of ditto, including the thickneſs of the floor and roof,	8—0
	19—6

Void

Brought over —	19—6
Void ſpace between the lowermoſt and the middlemoſt Inſpection Galleries	10—3
Height of the middlemoſt Inſpection Gallery, including the thickneſs of the floor and roof, — —	7—6
Void ſpace between the middlemoſt Inſpection Gallery and the uppermoſt	10—3
Height of the uppermoſt Inſpection Gallery, in front, including the thickneſs of the floor and roof, —	7—6
Void ſpace between the uppermoſt Inſpection Gallery and the uppermoſt part of the Roof where the annular ſky-light terminates excluſive of the thickneſs of the roof,	20—0
Thickneſs of the roof —	1—0
Height from the floor of the ſunk ſtory and annular well as before,	76—0

Inſpector's Lodge alone.

Widths.

From the center to the circumference of the central apertures in the floor and the cieling * — —	6

Of

* The diameter here given to theſe apertures is the ſame as that given to the opening ſky-light over them: but they admit of extenſion, as the demand for light or any other conſideration may require.

Brought over	—	6
Of the annular ſpace between that and the partition dividing the Lodge from the ſurrounding Gallery, being the ſpace underneath a Chapel-Gallery, added to that underneath the Chapel Area		21
Total ſemidiameter of the Inſpector's Lodge,		* 27
Add the other ſemidiameter,	—	27
Total diameter,	— —	54

* In ſome of the impreſſions of the Draught but 21: the difference, 6 foot, being owing, half of it to the three foot of addition given by miſtake to the Annular Well at the expence of the included Inſpection Tower, the other half, to the addition (now propoſed to be taken back) given within that Tower to the Inſpection Gallery in this ſtory, at the expence of the included Lodge.

§ *ANNULAR*

§ 3. *ANNULAR WELL.*

Annular Well, inſtead of Stories of Intermediate Annular Area.

HOW to give to the Inſpectors acceſs to the priſoners in their Cells? In the firſt deſign, ſtories of Intermediate Area, ſerving as paſſages, were allotted to this purpoſe: in number, agreeing with the Stories of inſpection Lodge: in point of level, coinciding, as was neceſſary, with the loweſt ſtory of each pair of Cells. Apertures, cut here and there through the uppermoſt of theſe ſtories of paſſages, were to give light and air to thoſe below.

For what purpoſe theſe paſſages? For communication, and no other.—But the more I conſidered the more plainly I perceived, that for uninterupted communication there would be no uſe. The firſt ſuccedaneum that preſented itſelf was a multitude of *flying ſtaircaſes* of open iron-work: at laſt I ſatisfied myſelf, that two flights of Staircaſes, from top to bottom, for the priſoners, and ſhort paſſages joining them from the ſeveral ſtories of the Inſpection-part, would anſwer every purpoſe*. Out went accordingly the Stories of Intermediate Area.

Space

* See below communications.

Space took the place of matter, from the bottom of the building to the top: and thus a *Well* was formed all the way up, crowned by an uninterupted *Skylight* as broad, and opening in as many places, as poſſible.

Airineſs, lightſomeneſs, œconomy, and increaſed ſecurity, are the evident reſults of this ſimple alteration: above all things, airineſs, the want of which it might not by any other means, have been very eaſy to remove. This vacuity does ſervice in a thouſand ſhapes: a ditch in fortification; it is a chimney and much more than a chimney in ventilation. In this point of view the diſtance between the particular ceiling and the general ſkylight is, ſo much added to the height of ceiling in each Cell: ſo that inſtead of 6 Cells, each 8 feet high and no more, we have, in fact, 6 Cells, one of 66 foot, another of 57, a third of 48, a fourth of 39, a fifth of 30, and the loweſt not leſs than 21 feet.

Communication, impeded in as far as it is dangerous, is, inſtead of being retarded, accelerated, where it is of uſe. To the Inſpector, in his Gallery, a ſingle *Pole* anſwers, as we ſhall, ſee the purpoſe of many ſtaircaſes: by this ſimple implement, without quitting his ſtation, he gives the priſoners egreſs from, and regreſs into, their Cells. Machines, materials of work, and proviſions, find a direct

a direct paſſage by help of a *Crane*, without the tedious circuity of a ſtaircaſe: whence leſs width of ſtaircaſe may ſuffice. The poſts, at which, were iron gratings of no avail, it would be poſſible for a deſperate priſoner to attack an Inſpector in his caſtle, are reduced to three narrow paſſages on each ſide: and thoſe too croſſed and guarded by doors of open-work, expoſing the enemy, while they keep him at a diſtance *. Of all this more particularly in its place. A ſhort hint of the ſeveral advantages could not well be omitted in ſpeaking of the part to which they are due.

Add to theſe another, nor that an inconſiderable one, in point of extent and facility of *Inſpection*: for though there are but two Stories of Cells, of which an eye ſituated in a Story of the Inſpecting Tower can reach every part alike, yet in addition to this perfect view partial views are thus opened, from which the management may derive, as we ſhall ſee, very material aſſiſtance.

What degree of ſupport the Inſpector of each Story of Inſpection Gallery derives from the view thus acquired by his colleagues in the two other Stories, may be ſeen by the lines deſcribed for that purpoſe in the Cells. They are drawn as if from an eye ſtationed in the back part of the ſeveral Inſpection

* This refers to the conſtruction of the DEAD PART of the circuit, of which a little further on.

ſpection Galleries. The figures 1, 2, 3, mark the Stories of Inſpection Galleries from which they are reſpectively drawn. When two of theſe lines proceed from the ſame Cell, the letter s denotes that one of them which was drawn from the height of the eye of a middle ſized man when *ſitting* and ſtooping to read or write: ſay three feet ſix inches: the letter *u* that drawn from the eye of the ſame man ſtanding *upright*: ſay five feet five inches.

From this particularity in point of *conſtruction*, the following obſervations may be deduced with a view to *management*.

1. There is no Cell of which ſome part is not viſible from every ſtory in the Inſpection-Tower: and in the lowermoſt ſtory, not only from the Inſpection Gallery, but even from the included Inſpector's Lodge.

2. The part thus viſible is conſiderable enough in point of room to receive, and expoſe perfectly to view, a greater number of Priſoners than it can ever be propoſed to lodge in the ſame Cell.

3. No priſoner can ever make any attempt upon the grating that forms the interior boundary of his Cell, without being viſible to every one of the three ſtations in the Inſpection-part.

4. During meal-times and at church times, by ſtationing the Priſoners cloſe to the grating, two out of three Inſpectors may be ſpared.

5. The Cell-Galleries are, every one of them, perfectly commanded by every ſtation in the Inſpection-part.

6. An attempt can ſcarcely if at all be made on a window in the third ſtory of Cells, without being viſible, not only to its proper ſtory, (viz. the 2d) of the Inſpection-part, but likewiſe to the firſt, nor upon a window in the 4th ſtory of Cells, without being viſible, not only to its proper ſtory (viz. the 2d) of the Inſpection-part, but likewiſe to the 3d. Thoſe of the 4th ſtory at leaſt, as well as the two above it, are ſufficiently guarded by their height: upon the ſuppoſition that the Cells afford no ropes, nor materials of which ropes could be made in the compaſs of a night, by perſons expoſed conſtantly to the eye of a patroling watchman.

7. To give to an Inſpector at any time the ſame command over the Cell of another Inſpector as over his own, there needs but an order, drawing a line of limitation in the Cells in queſtion, and confining the inhabitants within that line. So long as a priſoner keeps within it, he continues viſible: and the inſtant he ceaſes to be ſo, his very inviſibility is a mark to note him by.

§ 4. *PROTRACTED PARTITIONS OMITTED.*

Protracted Partitions omitted; or rather, taken into the Cells.

IN the original deſign the protracted Partitions had two uſes: 1. To cut off all view of diſtant Cells: 2. To cut off converſe with the Cells contigious on each nde. In ſecuring this effect a large quantity of brick-work, and an annular ſpace of 3 or 4 foot all round were expended.

Upon maturer conſideration it appeared, that the ſame effect might be equally ſecured by ſlighter and cheaper means: and the ſpace thus ſacrificed allotted to ſome other more neceſſary purpoſe. Views of the oppoſite ſemicircle may be intercepted by ſheets of canvas filling up the intervals left by the ſtories of Inſpection-Gallery.* View and converſe, as between Cells contigious or adjacent, by barriers of the ſlighteſt nature interpoſed within the Cells: ſuch as a netting of wire for

* Making the circuit round the area of the Chapel, and omitting the Dead part, it will be found that three pieces, each in length about 70 feet, and in width, two about 5 feet each, and the third about 8½ feet will ſuffice.

for example, or even of pack-thread. The object is rather to mark the line than to oppoſe a phyſical obſtacle to the violation of it. If tranſgreſſion be rendered practicable without diſcovery, it is ſufficient: ſince it is not here and there an inſtance that can produce any material miſchief, or to the delinquent any gratification capable of paying for the danger. By this ſlight and flexible barrier no room need be conſumed. As well at top as at bottom it will give place to furniture: ſuch as a ſhelf, or the foot of a loom, a bedſtead, or a table: and upon order given, it may be removed at any time.

When the Protracted Partitions were contrived, it was with a view to the aſſumed neceſſity of abſolute ſolitude: that plan being, for reaſons given below, now relinquiſhed, neither this expedient, nor thoſe now propoſed to be ſubſtituted to it in the ſame intention, are any longer of the ſame importance.

If the interception of view can be conſidered as an object entitled to much attention, it can only be as between the different ſexes. Of the proviſion made for that purpoſe, a full account will be found below.

§ 5. *CELLS,*

§ 5. *CELLS,*

DOUBLE INSTEAD OF SINGLE.

THE change is not a trifling one. It will not lightly be acceded to: the expediency of it will be expected to be fully and ſatisfactorily made out. It ſhall be ſo: by reaſon, by authority, and by practice. In the Letters I aſſumed ſolitude as a fundamental principle. I then copied, and I copied from recollection. I had no books. I have ſince read a little: I have thought more.

Not that the Panopticon ſyſtem has any intereſt in the change. You may apply it indeed to mitigated ſecluſion, but ſo you may with equal facility to abſolute ſolitude. Applied to the degree of mitigated ſecluſion here propoſed, it clears the puniſhment of its inconveniences, and gives it the advantages that have been looked for from ſolitude: applied to ſolitude, it enables you to ſcrew up the puniſhment to a degree of barbarous perfection, never yet given to it in any Engliſh priſon, and ſcarcely to be given to it by any other means.

Double Cells ſuppoſe two priſoners at leaſt in company; and admit of three, or even, in caſe of neceſſity,

neceſſity, four, and that with much leſs inconvenience, as we ſhall ſee, in point of room, than would reſult from the putting of two into a Cell deſigned only for one. As to any greater number, I lay it out of the queſtion. The choice lies, it muſt be remembered, not betwixt ſolitude and crowded rooms, but betwixt abſolute, perpetual, and univerſal ſolitude, on the one hand, and mitigated ſecluſion in very ſmall aſſorted companies, on the other: companies in the formation of which every regard might be paid, and naturally would be paid, to every ſort of conſideration by which expediency can be influenced—to age, temper, character, talents, and capabilities, Single Cells throughout, that is a number of Cells equal to that of the priſoners for whoſe reception they are deſigned, Cells in which, under the Panopticon diſcipline, they are to work, and eat, and attend Divine ſervice, as well as ſleep, and out of which, unleſs for the purpoſe of being aired and exerciſed, they are never to ſtir, ſuppoſe them doomed, or at leaſt meant to be doomed, during the whole time of their impriſonment, to the ſtate of unmitigated ſolitude above mentioned: that time for the moſt part, a term of not leſs than ſeven years.

Of perfect ſolitude in the penitentiary diſcipline I know but of one uſe: * the breaking the ſpirit as the

* Mr. Howard knew no other. "The intention of this" viz. (SOLITARY CONFINEMENT) "The intention of this (ſays he "in Account of Lazarettos, p. 169) I mean by day as well as by

the phraſe is, and ſubduing the contumacy, of the intractable. In this quality it may be a neceſſary inſtrument: none at any rate can be more unexceptionable. None can be more certain in its effect.* In what inſtance was it ever known to fail?

But

" by night, either to reclaim the moſt atrocious and daring cri-
" minals; to puniſh the refractory for crimes committed in pri-
" ſon; or to make a ſtrong impreſſion in a ſhort time, upon
" thoughtleſs and irregular young perſons, as faulty apprentices
" and the like. It ſhould therefore be conſidered by thoſe who
" are ready to commit for a long term petty offenders to abſo-
" lute ſolitude, that ſuch a ſtate is more than human nature can
" bear without the hazard of diſtraction or deſpair: The bene-
" ficial effects of ſuch a puniſhment are ſpeedy, proceeding from
" the horror of a vicious perſon left intirely to his own reflec-
" tions. This may wear off by long continuance, and a ſullen
" inſenſibility may ſucceed."

And in another note, p. 192, " A ſhort term would probably
" do more to effect a reformation than three or four months
" confinement; as it is generally found that in the firſt two or
" three days priſoners ſeem to have their minds moſt affected
" and penitent."

Of theſe notes the former, it is true, is prefaced with a " wiſh
" that all priſoners had ſeparate rooms, for hours of thought-
" fulneſs and reflection" (ſays he) " are neceſſary." But by ſeparate rooms all that he had in view was rooms different from the crowded rooms he had been ſpeaking of in the text. In the latter it is true the ſort of thoughtfulneſs and reflection he ſpeaks of will with difficulty find place. The buſy ſcenes that paſs in crowds keep the mind in a ſtate of fermentation and confuſion that leaves little leiſure for the admiſſion of other thoughts. Far otherwiſe is it in thoſe ſmall ſocieties, ſocieties compoſed of two or three only, which not having fallen under his obſervation do not appear on this occaſion to have been in his view. Unapt to give riſe to obſtreperous mirth, they are peculiarly favourable, produce that ſort of calm reflection which is the concomitant of confidential intercourſe.

* Darkneſs and faſting, one or both, muſt be added where it is thought neceſſary the effect ſhould be ſpeedily produced: as in the caſe of Engliſh Juries.

But in this quality the demand for it can be but temporary. What it does, if it does any thing, it does quickly: better, according to Mr. Howard, in two or three days, than in more. [Account of Lazarettos, p. 192.] Why then at an immenſe expenſe ſet up a perpetual eſtabliſhment for the ſake of ſo tranſitory an uſe?

In the character of a permanent article of diſcipline, continued throughout the whole of the confinement, if it were thought neceſſary on any account, it muſt be for one or other of two purpoſes: 1. To prevent the ſpread of miſchievous inſtruction, or 2. To prevent conſpiracies for the purpoſe of eſcape.

It is not neceſſary for either purpoſe. I mean always in contradiſtinction to the mitigated plan of ſecluſion, which gives to each man but one or at moſt two companions. 1. Not for the former—In the caſes in which miſchievous inclinations have been apprehended, and in which a plan of ſolitude, more or leſs ſteadily adhered to, has been employed or thought of by way of remedy, the following circumſtances have generally concurred: 1. The *multitude* of the priſoners collected together *large* and indeterminate: the *compoſition* of that multitude *not* capable of being regulated by any power of *ſelection*: the whole multitude left together,

ther, during the whole, or almoſt the whole of the four and twenty hours, *without inſpection* or controul: and that in a narrow ſpace, where, no one however deſirous, could eſcape from the converſation of any other. 4. All of them at liberty, without any other check than that of poverty, to ſupply themſelves to any exceſs with the means of intoxication. 5. A part more or leſs conſiderable of that number about to be *turned looſe again* upon the public in a *ſhort* time, with the leſſons of miſchief freſh in their ears, and ready at the firſt opportunity to apply the theory to practice. Under the arrangement to which, upon maturer conſideration, I have given the preference in compariſon with the firſt haſty conception of perpetual ſolitude, not one of the above circumſtances has place: The number of the priſoners propoſed to be put together is very ſmall: in general but two, at the utmoſt not more than four: the compoſition of theſe little groupes dependent upon the ruling powers in the firſt inſtance, and capable of being varied every moment upon any the ſlighteſt intimation which experience or even ſuſpicion can afford: every groupe, and every individual in it, expoſed more ot leſs to the ſcrutiny of an inſpecting eye during every moment of their continuance there: all means of intoxication for ever out of reach: the degree of ſecluſion determined upon, capable whatever it be of being, thanks to the all-efficient power of the Panopticon principle main-

tained inviolate, while every plan of ſolitude yet attempted has been broken in upon, and its purpoſe in great meaſure fruſtrated by occaſional aſſociations, and the pernicious inſtruction, ſhould any ſuch be communicated, not capable, were it to find a learner ever ſo ripe for it, of being applied to practice for many years to come.

If from reaſon we turn to example, an inſtance where the plan of perpetual, total, and univerſal, ſolitude has been adopted, and ſteadily adhered to, will not any where I believe be found. Either it has not been aimed at: or, if aimed at in principle, it has been relented from in practice.

In the Wymondham Penitentiary-Houſe, each priſoner, it is true, has a ſeparate Cell to ſleep in: it is however only upon occaſion * that he works there. If he does not work there, he muſt work, and unqueſtionably does work, in company: viz. in the work-room of twenty feet four inches by ten feet:† which was not deſtined for a few. As a preſervative againſt miſchievous inſtruction, what then at thoſe times, that is, throughout the day, becomes of ſolitude?

In the Glouceſter Penitentiary-Houſe, as well as in the other Glouceſter priſons, ſolitude, under the two modifications there adopted, viz. with and without

* *When neceſſary.* See Sir T. Beevor's Letters in Annual Regiſter for 1786, Let. I.

† Ibid. Let. III.

without the concomitant of darkneſs, is with great propriety, and in conformity to the principle I am contending for, "directed merely as a puniſh-"ment for refractory priſoners, and to enforce the "diſcipline of the priſon."

In the Penitentiary-Houſe indeed it is provided that, during the hours of reſt, the priſoners ſhall be "*kept entirely ſeparate:—in ſeparate Cells.*" So much for the night. How is it all day long?—"*During the hours of labour*," they are to be "*kept ſeparate*"—how?—abſolutely? No: but only "*as* "*far as the nature of the employment will admit.*"

What follows immediately after I do not perfectly comprehend. "When the nature of the "employment may require *two* perſons to work "together," (it does not ſay *two perſons or more*) "the taſk-maſters, or aſſiſtant, (it is ſaid) ſhall be "preſent to attend to the behaviour of ſuch offen-"ders, who ſhall not continue together, except "during ſuch hours of labour." How is this? not more than two perſons ever to work together? nor even two without a taſk-maſter, or his aſſiſtant, to attend them? Upon any idea of economy can this be looked upon as practicable? One man at 50l. or 30l. or 25l. a year,* to do nothing but look on, for every two men, who are expected to work? The Governor, is allowed, I obſerve, for but one ſubordinate

* The ſalaries allowed by theſe regulations to a taſk-maſter, turnkey, and aſſiſtant turnkey. Ib. Part I. p. 18.

ſubordinate of each of thoſe deſcriptions. Are there then to be but three pair of priſoners on the whole eſtabliſhment, to whom the indulgence of ſo much as a ſingle companion is to be allowed?—Are all the reſt to remain in ſolitude for the want of an attendant to each pair?——This cannot be. By *two* then, we are to underſtand *two or more:* in ſhort here, as at Wymondham, there are working-rooms in common, which none are to be without an Inſpector, ſtationed in ſome part of the room.——But in this caſe too, what becomes of ſolitude?

If the benefits expected from ſolitude in the character of a preſervative, were not given up by this relaxation, they would be by another. The following I obſerve preſcribed, as one of the four degrees of puniſhment, "to be applied in the diſcipline of *all* the priſons," the Penitentiary priſon therefore among the reſt. The priſoner though "on work-"ing-days, confined to his cell, except during the "times of airing,"* and tho' "removed *ſingly* to the chapel," is, "provided his, or her behaviour, "be orderly or decent," to be "allowed on Sun-"days, to air in the courts, in the ſociety of his "or her claſs."† Under this indulgence too, what becomes

* As to *airing*, a plan for that purpoſe will be found below, which does not require the ſlighteſt infringement upon whatever plan of ſecluſion may be fixed upon as moſt eligible.

† Ibid. Part II. p. 10.

becomes of the *antiſeptic* regimen? May not the ſame perſon who opens a ſchool of corruption as ſoon as the keeper's back is turned, be orderly and decent during his preſence? May not there be *eye-priſoners*, as well as eye-ſervants? Cannot the arts of houſebreaking and pilfering be taught on Sundays, as well as on week-days: cannot they be taught quietly and in a low voice?

So much as to evil inſtruction. Now as to ſafe cuſtody. Upon the Panopticon plan at leaſt, abſolute ſolitude is equally unneceſſary to this purpoſe. Towards effecting an eſcape, what can two or three do more than one, confined as they are by iron grates while they are within the priſon, and by walls when they are without? and in either caſe, never out of the eye of an Inſpector, who is armed and out of reach of attack, and within reach of whatever aſſiſtance he can deſire? And this too, as we ſhall ſee, but a part of the ſecurities with which the ſyſtem is armed: for every thing cannot be ſaid at once, nor repeated at each ſentence.

Upon the common plans, abſolute ſolitude while the priſoners were out of ſight might, for aught I can ſay, be a neceſſary precaution: at leaſt it cannot be ſaid to be an uſeleſs one. In the courſe of ſixteen hours a good deal might be done by two or three perſons, ſteeled againſt danger, reckoning life as nothing, and ſecure of not being obſerved.

If

If perpetual and unremitted ſolitude is not neceſſary either to prevent the ſpread of miſchievous inſtruction or to prevent eſcapes, to what other purpoſe can it be either neceſſary, or of uſe?—To reformation?—But that you have already, either without any ſolitude, or by the help of a ſhort courſe of it. What further proof would you wiſh for, what further proof can human eyes have, of ſuch a change, beyond quietneſs, ſilence and obedience?

To the purpoſe of example? The effect in the way of example, the effect of the ſpectacle, receives little addition from the protracted duration of the term.

Are you afraid the ſituation ſhould not be made uncomfortable enough to render it ineligible? There are ways enough in the world of making men miſerable without this expenſive one: nor if their ſituation in ſuch a place were made the beſt of, is there any great danger of their finding themſelves too much at their eaſe. If you muſt torment them, do it in a way in which ſomebody may be a gainer by it. Sooner than rob them of all ſociety, I would pinch them at their meals.

But ſolitude when it ceaſes to be neceſſary becomes worſe than uſeleſs. Mr. Howard has ſhewn how.

how. It is productive of gloomy deſpondency, or ſullen inſenſibility. What better can be the reſult, when a vacant mind, is left for months, or years, to prey upon itſelf?

This is not all. Making this laviſh uſe of ſolitude is expending an uſeful inſtrument of diſcipline in waſte. Not that of *puniſhments*, or even a proper variety of puniſhments, there can ever be a dearth: I mean of what is uſually in view under that name—ſuffering employed in a quantity predetermined, after an offence long paſt. But of inſtruments of *compulſion*, ſuch as will bear ſcrutiny, there is no ſuch great abundance.

Starving thus employed, is open to ſuſpicion, and may not always be practicable, without prejudice to health. Acute applications, ſuch as *whipping* or *beating*, are open to abuſe and ſtill more to ſuſpicion of abuſe. Applied in this way they would be execrated under the name of *torture*. Solitude thus applied, eſpecially, if accompanied with darkneſs and low diet, is torture in effect, without being obnoxious to the name.

Compared to that mitigated degree of ſecluſion which admits of allowing two or three to a Cell, it is unthrifty in a more literal ſenſe. Pecuniary economy muſt be ſacrificed to it in a thouſand ſhapes. 1. It enhances the expence of building.

2. It

2. It conſumes room: 3. It cramps the choice of trades: 4. It cramps induſtry in any trade.

1. It enhances the expence of building. Admit of Double Cells inſtead of Single, and obſerve the ſaving. Half the number of the Partition-Walls: a conſiderable part of the expence of warming: half that of lighting: half the apparatus, whatever it be, dedicated to cleanlineſs: and the expence of water cloſets, upon the moſt perfect plan, need the leſs be grudged.

2. It conſumes room. 1. Admit of Double Cells, you gain to the purpoſe of ſtowage and manufacture, the ſpace occupied by the Partition-walls you have thrown out. 2. It precludes the ſaving that may be made in Double Cells, by putting together two ſorts of workmen one of whom required more room than the average allowance, the other leſs: a weaver for example, and a ſhoemaker.

3. It cramps the choice of employments. 1. It excludes all ſuch as require more room, than you would think fit to allow to your Single Cell. 2. It excludes all ſuch as require two or more to work in the ſame apartment. *

4. It

* I do not pretend to ſay that even in Single Cells employments would be to ſeek: or that there is any reaſon to ſtrain a poin

4. It cramps induſtry in any employment. 1. It precludes an experienced workman from having boys given to him for apprentices. 2. Nor probably would the ſame quantity of work be done by two perſons in a ſtate of ſolitude, as would be done by the ſame two perſons in a ſtate of ſociety, at leaſt under the influence of the inſpection principle. Who does not know the influence that the ſtate of the ſpirits has upon the quantity of the work? †

X Sequeſtered

point for the ſake of admitting employments that require an extraordinary meaſure of room, as if the profitableneſs of employments were in uniform proportion to the quantity of room they required. I would not therefore be at a great expence in building for the vague chance of giving admittance to trades, which by their difference in point of profitableneſs might do more than pay for the difference in point of expence in building. What I ſaid in the Letters I ſay ſtill. All I mean here is, that if a latitude in that article can be obtained without any additional expence, the advantage ought not to be forgotten.

† True it is, that two boys or two idle men, if put together without motives for working, would be apt enough to play or lounge the whole time, and not work at all. True it is alſo, that after having had experience for a certain time of abſolute ſolitude debarred from all means of employment, the moſt arrant idler that ever lived would be apt to fly to almoſt any employment as a relief. But the queſtion here is, not between a recluſe without the means either of work or play, and two idlers poſſeſſing the means of play without the motives to work, but between one perſon in ſolitude, and two others in ſociety, neither the one nor the two having the means of play, but with regard to work, all having as well the motives as the means.

What more proverbial than the briſkneſs of the Cobler's words, and the cheerfulneſs of his note? But where would be his cheerfulneſs without the amuſive ſpectacle of the ſort of ſociety afforded him by the flux and reflux of the paſſing throng?

Sequeſtered ſociety is favourable to friendſhip, the ſiſter of the virtues. Should the comrades agree, a firm and innocent attachment will be the natural fruit of ſo intimate a ſociety, and ſo long an union.

Each Cell is an iſland: the inhabitants, ſhip-wrecked mariners caſt aſhore upon it by the adverſe blaſts of fortune: partners in affliction, indebted to each other for whatever ſhare they are permitted to enjoy of ſociety, the greateſt of all comforts.

Should diſagreement intervene, how eaſy will ſeparation be, and what ſhould hinder it? ſhould the miſchief be the reſult of ill nature or turbulence of one alone, the remedy is at hand—conſign him to ſolitude till tamed. Take from him the bleſſing, till he has learnt to know its value: puniſh him in the faculty he has abuſed.

A fund of ſociety will thus be laid up for them againſt the happy period which is to reſtore them to the world. A difficulty will thus be obviated which has been remarked as one of the moſt unfortunate concomitants of this mode of puniſhment, and as having but too powerful a tendency to replunge them into the ſame abandoned courſes of life which brought them to it before. Quitting the ſchool of adverſity, they will be to each other

as old ſchool-fellows, who had been through the ſchool together, always in the ſame claſs.

Let us keep clear of miſtakes on all ſides. There are four diſtinctions we ſhould be careful to obſerve in regard to ſolitude. One is, between the utility of it in the character of a temporary inſtrument applicable to a temporary purpoſe, and the neceſſity of it, in the character of a permanent ingredient in the ſyſtem of diſcipline. Another is, between the peculiar effects of ſolitude and the advantages which are equally obtainable by means of ſequeſtered ſociety, in ſmall aſſorted companies. A third is, between the effects of ſuch aſſociations, under the common plan and under the all preſervative influence of the inſpection principle.

A fourth is, between the duration the ſolitary diſcipline is capable of requiring in a Penitentiary Houſe, and that which it may poſſibly be of uſe to give to it in a Houſe of Correction. It may be longer in the latter.* Why? Becauſe in a Penitentiary

* Though even there not a long one. Hear Mr. Howard, in a note before referred to. "In all manufacturing towns" (ſays he, p. 192) "it would be proper to have ſolitary Cells for the "confinement of faulty apprentices and ſervants for *a few* "*days*, where they ſhould be conſtrained to work, and have no "viſitors, unleſs Clergymen: for a ſhort term would probably "do more to effect a reformation, than three or four months con-"finement; as it is generally found that in the firſt two or three "days priſoners ſeem to have their minds moſt affected and pe-"nitent."

tentiary Houſe all it can be wanted for is to produce immediate ſubmiſſion: for, as to reformation and change of character, years are remaining for that taſk: the offender is not returned from thence into unlimited ſociety. In a Houſe of Correction, the term being ſo much ſhorter, the remedy muſt be ſo much the more powerful. If the reformation of the offender is not compleated in his ſolitary Cell, there is no other place for it to be continued in: for from thence he is returned to ſociety at large.*

One thing is good for phyſic, another thing for food. Would you keep a man upon bark or antimony?

Rejecting then the idea of abſolute ſolitude, I lay two of the Cells propoſed in the original draught into one. Two accordingly is the number I conſider as forming the *ordinary complement* of the Double Cell thus formed: *three*, if three are anywhere to be admitted, I ſtile a *ſuper-complement*: *four*, a *double complement*.

The degree of extenſibility thus given to the eſtabliſhment ſeems a very conſiderable advantage: the

* I ſpeak with a view to the common plans. In a Panopticon Houſe of Correction, beginning, where neceſſary, with a very ſhort courſe of ſolitude, I would allot the reſt of the term to a ſtate of mitigated ſeclusion. But in many caſes where a long term is preſcribed without diſtinction or thought about the diſcipline that will be purſued, the ſhort courſe of ſolitude would be ſufficient of itſelf.

the number is not rigorouſly confined to the meaſure originally allotted to it: proviſion is made for the fluctuation and uncertainty naturally incident to the number of inhabitants in ſuch a houſe. Though two ſhould be deemed the propereſt complement for a general one, even ſo conſiderable an one as four, eſpecially if not univerſal does not ſeem to threaten any formidable inconvenience. As to ſafe cuſtody and good order, four is not ſuch a number as can well be deemed unmanageable: if it were, how would ſo many more be managed all day long in the work-ſhops, and that without the benefit of inviſible inſpection, as on the common plans? As to room, four would have much more of it in one of theſe Double Cells, than two would have in a Single Cell formed by the diviſion of ſuch a Double Cell into equal parts. A partition in certain caſes excludes from uſe a much greater ſpace than that which it covers.*

Under this arrangement, ſolitude in its character of a temporary inſtrument is by no means laid aſide. On the contrary it is made applicable, to a greater, indeed to an almoſt unlimited extent, and what is more, without any additional expence. Two I call, as before, the *ordinary complement* for theſe

* Thus in a room of twelve feet wide you might join lengthways three tables of four feet in length each: divide the room into two equal rooms by a partition, you can place but two ſuch tables in the ſame direction, though the partition be but a lath.

theſe Double Cells. Conceive the whole number of the Cells provided with their ordinary complement: to conſign a delinquent to ſolitude, there needs no more than to deprive him of his companion, and by transferring the companion to another Cell, give that one other Cell a *ſuper-complement.* In this way by only giving to half the number of Cells a ſuper-complement, half the number of priſoners might be conſigned to ſolitude at once: a multitude of ſolitaries beyond compariſon greater than what is provided for in any priſon in which ſolitude is not meant to be the conſtant ſtate of the whole. Even ſuppoſing the Cells univerſally provided with a ſuper-complement, give two thirds of them a double-complement, and you may ſtill conſign to ſolitude one third of their inhabitants at the ſame time: and ſo, in caſe of an univerſal double complement one quarter, upon no worſe terms than the putting five perſons into a ſpace, which in the ordinary way of providing for the inferior claſſes, is often made to hold a greater number without any very decided inconvenience.

In eſtimating the effects of putting two or three or four priſoners together (all under inſpection, it muſt be remembered, all the while) the advantage of grouping them at the diſcretion of the Inſpector muſt not be overlooked. Very inattentive indeed muſt he have been to this capital part of his buſi-

neſs,

neſs, if in a very ſhort time the character of every individual among them be not known to him as much as is material to his purpoſe. He will of courſe ſort them in ſuch a manner as that they may be checks upon one another, not aſſiſtants, with regard to any forbidden enterpriſe.

Let us not be impoſed upon by ſounds: Let not the frightful name of *felon* bereave us of the faculty of diſcrimination. Even antecedently to the time within which the reformatory powers of the inſtitution can be expected to have had their effect, there will be perhaps no very conſiderable part of the whole number, whoſe characters need inſpire much more apprehenſion than would be juſtified by an equal number of men taken at large. It is a too common though natural error to affix to this odious name, whatſoever difference of character may accompany it, one indiſtinguiſhing idea of profligacy and violence. But the number of the perſons guilty of crimes which in ſuch as robbery, the only ſorts of crimes of violence, ſuch an eſtabliſhment can be productive of any ſerious miſchief, bear comparatively ſpeaking but a ſmall proportion to the whole. Thoſe whoſe offences conſiſt in acts of timid iniquity, ſuch as thieves and ſharpers, even though trained to the practice as to a profeſſion, are formidable, not to the peace of the eſtabliſhment, but only in the capacity of inſtructors to the reſt: while the qualities of perhaps the

major

major part, whoſe criminality is confined to the having yielded for once to the momentary impulſe of ſome tranſient temptation, are ſuch as afford little or no danger in any ſhape, more than would be afforded by any equal number of perſons in the ſame ſtate of poverty and coercion taken at large. They are like thoſe on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, diſtinguiſhed from many of their neighbours more by ſuffering than by guilt. Drunkenneſs, it is to be remembered, the moſt inexhauſtible and moſt contagious ſource of all corruptions, is here altogether out of the queſtion. Intoxication cannot be taught, where there is nothing (for this I take for granted) wherewith a man can be intoxicated.*

* In ſhewing that abſolute ſolitude is not an eſſential part, nor indeed any part of the Penitentiary Syſtem, I had forgot the original Penitentiary Act, 19 Geo. III. c. 74: under which act, ſolitude extends neither to "labour," nor "devotion," nor "meals," nor "airings." See §33.

§ 6. *DEAD*

§ 6. *DEAD PART.*

IT will be neceſſary on a variety of accounts to reſerve ſome part of the circuit of the building for other purpoſes than that of being diſpoſed of into Cells. A Chapel, a part of the eſtabliſhment for which a place muſt be found ſomewhere, occupies upon the preſent plan a conſiderable portion of the Inſpection-Tower. Even the whole of that circle, were there to be no Chapel, would not ſuffice for the lodgment of all the perſons for whom lodgment would be neceſſary. There muſt be a Chaplain, a Surgeon, and a Matron: eſpecially if beſides male there ſhould be female priſoners, which in a building of this kind there may be, as we ſhall ſee, without inconvenience.* Should the eſtabliſhment not be of ſufficient magnitude to call upon the Chaplain and the Surgeon for the whole of their time, and to give a compleat lodgment to thoſe officers and their families, ſome ſort of ſeparate apartment they muſt ſtill have, the Surgeon at leaſt, to occupy while they are there.

To ſuch an eſtabliſhment not only a Governor, but a Sub-Governor will probably be requiſite:

* See the Section on the Separation of the Sexes.

and for the ſake of giving an inſpecting eye to the approach without, as well as for other purpoſes, it will be neceſſary, as we ſhall ſee, that the former, and convenient, that the latter at leaſt, ſhould have an apartment fronting and looking out that way. And for the lodgment of the Governor at leaſt, there will be required a ſpace ſufficient for a ſtile of living equal or approaching to that of a gentleman.*

There muſt therefore be ſome part of the building, over and above the central, provided for the lodgment of theſe ſeveral ſorts of Curators, and conſequently

* To a perſon of this deſcription, or not much below it, muſt the proviſion made in point of room be ſuited, upon whatever plan the Governor is to find an inducement to take upon him the office. Upon the plan of payment by ſalary, a man who in point of education and reſponſibility had not ſome pretenſions to be conſidered as upon that footing, would hardly be intruſted with a concern of ſuch magnitude and importance. Upon the contract plan recommended in the Letters (See Letter 9th) a man who were not of ſufficient reſponſibility and account to require proviſion to be made for him in the way of lodgment upon a ſimilar footing, would hardly be accepted of. In the former caſe, the Governor would require a Maſter-manufacturer, or Taſk-maſter under him, to eaſe him of the moſt irkſome and laborious part of the details, and occaſionally of the whole, in caſe of ſickneſs or neceſſary abſence. And in the latter caſe, were a Maſter-manufacturer to be the contractor, while his own attention was principally employed in turning the eſtabliſhment to account in the way of profit, he would find it neceſſary to have under him a man of truſt, in the character of Keeper, for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the government of the priſon; and paying a more particular attenſion than the occupations of the principal could admit of his paying to the great objects of ſafe-cuſtody and good order.

conſequently not, like the reſt, diſpoſed of in the form of Cells. The part of the circuit thus ſacrificed and blocked up, as we ſhall ſee, by a projecting-front, is what I call the *Dead part*.*

To take from the Cells the whole of the ſpace thus meant to be employed would abſorb a greater part of the circuit than would be neceſſary, and thus make an uneconomical diminution in the number of priſoners capable of being provided for. To obviate this inconvenience, in a building of 120 feet diameter, which were the whole of it diſpoſed into Cells would, by having 24 Double Cells in a ſtory, and ſix ſuch ſtories, contain 288 priſoners, I take, for ſuppoſition ſake, for the Dead part, a ſpace no more than equal to five ſuch Cells.

To obtain what further room may be requiſite, and that without any further prejudice to the number of the Cells, I add a quadrangular front, projecting, ſay for inſtance twenty feet, reckoning from a tangent to the circle. This, with the help of the ſpace included by a perpendicular drawn from ſuch tangent to the laſt of the Cells thus ſacrificed on each ſide, would form a conſiderable projection, extending in front about 73 feet.† By this means the officers

* A wall, in contradiſtinction to erections with windows in them, is commonly called a *Dead Wall*.

† This part could not be delineated in the Draught, Plate II. nor conſequently the Dead Part diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. The diſpoſition

officers in queſtion might all of them poſſeſs ſome ſort of communication with the exterior approach, while the back part of the ſpace as appropriated would give them communication with and inſpection into the part allotted to the priſoners, and to ſuch of them as required to be ſtationed in the heart of the building, acceſs to their common lodgment in that place.

The front thus formed would not however require to be carried up to the utmoſt height of a building ſo lofty as the circular part, viz. upon the preſent plan about 68 feet, roof included. Priſoners, as their occaſion to aſcend and deſcend recurs, as we ſhall ſee, at very few and ſtated periods, may be lodged at almoſt any height without ſenſible inconvenience*: but this is not equally the caſe with

diſpoſition of theſe two parts muſt be governed in a conſiderable degree by local circumſtances, and in its details is not eſſential to the compoſition of the building. The outline of it is however repreſented in Plate III.

* This would be, excluſive of the roof, 54 feet, being the aggregate height of the ſix Cells; the floor of the loweſt ſtory of Cells being ſuppoſed level with the ground: that is, even with the ground floor of the Projecting Front upon the ſame level. But it will probably be found convenient, as we ſhall ſee, to raiſe the ground floor of the Front to a level with that of the lowermoſt ſtory of the Inſpection-part, the floor of which muſt be 4½ above that of the lowermoſt ſtory of Cells; and to put under the Cells a ſunk floor, running all round, which may be about 7½ feet lower than that of the Cells, and conſequently about 12 lower than that of the lowermoſt ſtory of the Inſpection-part. In that caſe, if the ground is at the ſame height before the Front

with members of families in a ſtate of liberty. The cielings, though higher than thoſe of the Cells, (which are 8 feet in the clear) would not require to be ſo lofty as the diſtance from floor to floor in the Inſpection-part: a number of ſtories, though not ſo great as ſix, yet greater than three, might therefore be thus allotted. To diſpoſe of the ſurplus to advantage, I omit a height at top equal to and level with that of the uppermoſt ſtory of Cells. The correſponding part of the circuit of Cells, comprehending a ſpace equal to that of five of theſe Double Cells, is thus reſtored to the light, and free to be converted into Cells.* This part, or any of the Cells compoſing it, may anſwer upon occaſion the purpoſe of *an Infirmary*.

It poſſeſſes in this view a peculiar advantage, The front may have a flat roof, which being raiſed to

as all round the Cells, there muſt be ſteps from it to the height of 4½ feet (ſay 9 ſteps 6 inches each) to reach the ground floor: which will reduce to 49½ feet the height from the ground floor of the cieling of the higheſt ſtory of Cells; and to 43½ that from the ſame ground-floor to the windows of the ſame ſtory of Cells: at which level the projection muſt terminate, in order to afford by its roof a terrace for the Infirmary, in manner here propoſed.

This want of coincidence between the floors of the internal part and thoſe of the external, in other words, between the Inſpection-part and the Cellular, (a circumſtance neceſſary to give each floor of the former the command of two floors of the latter, introduces a degree of intricacy which affects every conception that can be formed and every account that can be given of almoſt any part of this unexampled ſtructure.

* It may poſſibly however be found eligible to ſacrifice one of theſe Cells, viz. the center one, to let in light by a ſky-light for the ſtaircaſe for Chapel viſitors. See § *Communications—Stair-caſes*.

to the level of the floor or the bottom of the windows of this Infirmary part, and covered with lead or copper, will form a terrace, on which convaleſcents, though incapable of the fatigue of deſcending and reaſcending, may take the air. A ſpace of 73 feet in front, and in width where narroweſt (viz. at its junction with the circle) 20 feet, and where wideſt (viz. at the furtheſt part from the circle) near 32 feet, would afford very convenient room for this purpoſe, and the ſeparation between the males and females might here likewiſe, if thought neceſſary, be kept up, by a partition wall cutting the terrace in the middle.

A more convenient Infirmary could ſcarce be wiſhed for. The only expence attending it is the difference between that of a flat and that of an ordinary roof for the quadrangular projection over which it looks: and even this difference is not an eſſential one. On the ordinary plans, while there are no ſick, the Infirmary is vacant and uſeleſs. Such need not be the caſe here. Guarded and watched in the ſame manner, the Infirmary Cells are as fit for the reception of priſoners in health as any other Cells. When the eſtabliſhment is in this ſtate of repletion, ſuppoſe an Infirmary Cell wanted for a ſick perſon, it is but diſmiſſing its former inhabitant or inhabitants to an ordinary Cell or Cells upon the principle already mentioned.

The

The part thus denominated the Dead part would be very far from loſt. It would afford room for many neceſſary articles in the compoſition of the building. Out of it ought to be taken:

1. Staircaſes for the Priſoners and Inſpectors: for which ſee the head of Communications.

2. Entrance and Staircaſes for the Chapel Viſitors: for which alſo ſee the head of Communications.

3. Paſſage and Staircaſe to the Inſpector's Lodge: for which ſee the ſame title.

4. Veſtry for the Chaplain.

5. Organ and Organ-loft.

6. Clock-houſe and Belfry.

§ 7. *CHAPEL.*

§ 7. CHAPEL.

Chapel Introduced.*

THE neceſſity of a Chapel to a Penitentiary-Houſe is a point rather to be aſſumed than argued. Under an eſtabliſhed Church of any perſuaſion, a ſyſtem of penitence without the means of regular devotion would be a downright ſoleciſm. If religious inſtruction and exerciſe be not neceſſary to the worſt and generally the moſt ignorant of ſinners, to whom elſe can they be other than ſuperfluous?

This inſtruction, where then ſhall they be placed to receive it? No where better than where they are. There they are in a ſtate of continued ſafe-cuſtody: and there they are without any additional expence. It remains only to place the Chaplain: and where the Chaplain is, there is the Chapel. A ſpeaker cannot be diſtinctly heard more than a very few feet

* The Chapel, not being a characteriſtic part of the deſign, will be ſufficiently underſtood from the Draught, without any particular explanation. For the whole detail of this part, I am indebted to my profeſſional adviſer, Mr. Revely, of Great Titchfield-ſtreet, Marybone, whoſe beautiful and correct drawings of Views in the Levant have been ſo much admired by the dilettante in Grecian and Egyptian antiquities.

feet behind the ſpot he ſpeaks from.* The congregation being placed in a circle, the ſituation therefore of the Chaplain ſhould be, not in the center of that circle, but as near as may be to that part which is behind him, and conſequently at the greateſt diſtance from that part of it to which he turns his face.

But between the center of the Inſpection Tower all round and the intermediate Well, there muſt be at any rate, whatever uſe it may be put to, a very conſiderable ſpace. What then ſhall be done with it? It cannot be employed as a warehouſe conſiſtently with the ſanctity of its deſtination: nor even independently of that conſideration: ſince if thus filled up it would intercept both ſight and voice. Even if Divine ſervice were out of the queſtion, it is only towards the center that this part could be employed for ſtowage, without obſtructing inſpection as much as in the other caſe it would devotion: nor can it even in that part be ſo employed, without narrowing in proportion the Inſpector's range; and protruding his walk to a longer and longer circuit. What then, ſhall we do with this vacuity?—Fill it with company, if company can be induced to come. Why not as well as to the Aſylum, the Magdalen and the Lock Hoſpital, in London? The ſcene would be more pictureſque:

* I found this by experiments made on purpoſe in churches. See alſo Saunders on Theatres.

the occaſion not leſs intereſting and affecting. The proſpect of contributions that might be collected here as there, will bind the manager to the obſervance of every rule that can contribute to keep the eſtabliſhment in a ſtate of exemplary neatneſs and cleanlineſs, while the profit of them will pay him for the expence and trouble. Building, furniture apparel, perſons, every thing muſt be kept as nice as a Dutch Houſe. The ſmalleſt degree of ill ſcent would be fatal to this part of his enterpriſe. To give it ſucceſs, prejudice indeed would be to be ſurmounted: but by experience, continued and uninterrupted experience, even prejudice may be overcome.

The affluence of viſitors, while it ſecured cleanlineſs, and its concomitants healthineſs and good order, would keep up a ſyſtem of gratuitous inſpection, capable of itſelf of awing the keeper into good conduct, even if he were not paid for it: and the oppoſite impulſes of hope and fear would thus contribute to enſure perfection to the management, and keep the conduct of the manager wound up to the higheſt pitch of duty. Add to this the benefit of the example and of the comments that would be made on it by learned and religious lips: Theſe ſeeds of virtue inſtead of being buried in obſcurity, as in other improved priſons, would thus be diſſeminated far and wide.

Whatever

Whatever profit, if any, the contractor could make out of this part of the plan, why grudge it him? Why to his eſtabliſhment more than to any of thoſe juſt mentioned? Not a penny of it but would be a bounty upon good management and a ſecurity againſt abuſe.

If the furniture and decoration of the Chapel would require ſome expence, though very little decoration would be requiſite, a ſaving on the other hand reſults from the degree of openneſs which ſuch a deſtination ſuggeſted and rendered neceſſary. On the original plan, the whole circuit of the central part, then appropriated ſolely to inſpection, was to have been filled with glaſs: on the preſent plan, which lays this part open in different places to the amount of at leaſt half its height, that expenſive material is proportionably ſaved.

On the preſent plan, it will be obſerved, that three ſtories of Cells only, viz. the ſecond, third, and fifth from the top, enjoy an uninterrupted view of the Miniſter.* That the inhabitants of the other ſtories of Cells may have participation of the ſame benefit, it will be neceſſary they ſhould be introduced, for the occaſion, into or in front of ſuch

* In ſome impreſſions of the Draught the miniſter's ſtation, and conſequently the views and want of views that reſult from it are not repreſented: but they will readily be conceived.

ſuch of the Cells as are in a ſituation to enjoy it. This might be effected, and that with the greateſt care, were the whole eſtabliſhment to receive even a *double complement*.

The two parties compoſed of the fixed inhabitants of each Cell, on the one hand, and the ſtrangers imported from a diſtant Cell on the other, might be ſtationed either in one continued row in the front of the Cell-galleries, or the one party in that line and the other immediately within the Cell-grating. In neither caſe need the law of ſecluſion be ſuffered to be infringed by converſe: both parties are alike awed to ſilence by an inviſible eye, inviſible not only to the priſoners in front, but to the company behind: not only the perſon of each Inſpector, but his very ſtation being perfectly concealed from every ſtation in the Chapel.*

* All this may be very well, ſaid an intelligent friend, in the way of EXAMPLE:—— but how ſtands it upon the footing of REFORMATION? Might it not have ultimately a corruptive effect upon the perſons thus exhibited, ſhaming them indeed and diſtreſſing them at firſt, but by degrees hardening them, and at length rendering them inſenſible? Would it not, in ſhort, to this purpoſe be a ſort of perpetual pillory?

To this I anſwer----

1. That of the two, example and reformation, example is the greateſt object: and that in the proportion of the number of the yet innocent to that of the convicted guilty.

2. That the offences for which perſons are ſubjected to this puniſhment are deemed of a deeper dye, and as ſuch to require a puniſhment more ſevere than that even of thoſe who are conſigned to the pillory.

3. That

3. That at their trials there is not one of them but muſt have been exhibited in a manner equally public, and in circumſtances reflecting a much greater meaſure of humiliation and ſhame: with this difference too, that on that occaſion each perſon is exhibited ſingly, and the eyes of the whole audience are fixed upon him alone:---that he is to ſpeak as well as to hear, and ſtands forth in effect the ſole hero of the melancholy drama: whereas, on an exhibition like that here propoſed, the attention of the ſpectators, being divided among ſo many, ſcarcely attaches individually upon any one. Beſides that upon his trial a man is held forth to view the marks of guilt freſh upon his head: whereas at the remote period in queſtion he does not appear till a progreſs more or leſs conſiderable may be preſumed to have been made in the career of penitence, and the idea of guilt has been covered by expiation.

Should theſe anſwers be thought to have diſproved the miſchief, nothing can be ſimpler than the remedy. A maſk affords it at once. Guilt will thus be pilloried in the abſtract, without the expoſure of the guilty. With regard to the ſufferer, the ſting of ſhame will be ſheathed, and with regard to the ſpectators, the ſalutary impreſſion inſtead of being weakened will be heightened, by this imagery. The ſcene of direction will be decorated by---why mince the word?---by a maſquerade: a maſquerade indeed, but of what kind? not a gay and dangerous, but a ſerious, affecting, and inſtructive one. A Spaniſh PUTO-DA-JE has ſtill more in it of the theatre:---and what is the objection there?---That the ſpectacle is light or ludicrous?---No: but rather that it is too ſerious and too horrible.

This it is to be noted is the only occaſion on which their eyes will have to encounter the public eye. At all other times, be their viſitors ever ſo numerous, there will be no conſciouſneſs of being ſeen, conſequently no ground for the inſenſibility which might be apprehended from the habit of ſuch conſciouſneſs.

Where there is patience to diſcriminate, the worſt inſtitutions may afford a hint that may be of uſe. I would not turn my back upon reaſon and utility, though I found them in the Star-Chamber or the Inquiſition. The authors of the latter inſtitution, in particular, whatever enormities and abſurdities may be laid to their charge, muſt at leaſt be allowed to have had ſome knowledge of *ſtage effect*. Unjuſt as was their penal ſyſtem in its application and barbarous in its degree, the ſkill they diſplayed in making the moſt of it in point of impreſſion, their ſolemn proceſſions, their emblematic dreſſes, their terrific ſcenery, deſerve rather to be admired and imitated than condemned.

NIHIL

Nihil ex ſcenâ, ſays Lord Bacon, ſpeaking of procedure in the civil branch of the law: *Multum ex ſcenâ*, I will venture to ſay, ſpeaking of the penal. The diſagreement is but verbal: *Scena* in the Language of the noble philoſopher, means *lying*: in mine, *ſcena* is but *ſcenery*. To ſay *Multum ex ſcenâ*, is to ſay loſe no occaſion of ſpeaking to the eye. In a well compoſed Committee of Penal Law, I know not a more eſſential perſonage than the Manager of a Theatre.

§ 8. *INSPECTION*

§ 8. *INSPECTION-GALLERIES* AND *LODGE.*

IN the three ſtories of the Inſpection-Tower, Annular Inſpection-Galleries, low and narrow, ſurrounding in the lowermoſt ſtory a circular Inſpection-Lodge; inſtead of three ſtories of Inſpection-Lodge, all circular, and in height filling up the whole ſpace all the way up *.

Two deſiderata had been aimed at in the contrivance of the Inſpector's ſtations. 1. The unbounded faculty of ſeeing without being ſeen, and that as well while moving to and fro as while ſitting or ſtanding ſtill: 2. The capacity of receiving in the ſame

* It is to the ingenuity of Mr. Revely that I am indebted for this very capital improvement, which I did not ſubmit to without reluctance. It occurred to him in contriving the conſtruction of the Chapel, in the room of ſome crude ideas of my own, a detailed deſcription of which would take up more room than it would be worth. The floors of the preſent Inſpector's-Galleries were to have been continued inwards as far as what conſtitutes now the area of the Chapel. The Governor and his ſubordinates were to have lived in them on week days, and on Sundays theſe floors were to have anſwered the purpoſe of galleries to the Chapel. All the way up from floor to floor there were to have been windows, which were to have been got rid of ſome how or other during the time of Divine ſervice.

ſame place viſitors who ſhould be in the ſame predicament.

The ſecond of theſe objects is not to be diſpenſed with. If the Governor or Sub-Governor cannot for the purpoſes of his buſineſs, receive company while he remains in this ſtation, he muſt as often as he receives them quit not only the central part, but the whole circle altogether: leaving his place in the Inſpection-part to be ſupplied by ſomebody on purpoſe. Hence on the one hand a relaxation of the inſpective force: on the other, an increaſe in the expence of management.

Suppoſe it poſſible, as I conceive it will be found, for the Inſpector's inviſibility to be preſerved, upon condition of giving up that of the viſitors, would the former advantage be ſufficient without the latter?——Not abſolutely: for confederates, as the diſcrimination could not well be made, might gain entrance in numbers at a time, and while one was occupying the attention of the Inſpector, others might by ſigns concert enterprizes of miſchief or eſcape with the priſoners in their Cells. Such at leaſt might be the apprehenſion entertained by ſome people: at leaſt upon the face of this ſingle ſuppoſition: though to one whoſe conception ſhould have embraced the whole ſyſtem of ſafeguard and defence, the danger would I think hardly appear formidable

formidable enough to warrant the incurring any expence or ſacrificing any advantage.

Upon the firſt crude conception, as ſtated in the Letters, my hope had been, that by the help of blinds and ſcreens, the faculty of inviſible inſpection might have been enjoyed in perfection by the whole number of perſons occupying the central part, wherever they were placed in it, and whether in motion or at reſt. I am now aſſured, and I fear with truth, that theſe expectations were in ſome reſpects too ſanguine. I mean as to what concerns ideal and abſolute perfection: at the ſame time that for real ſervice, their completion, I truſt, will not be found to have ſuſtained any material abatement.

Were I to perſiſt in endeavouring to give this property of inviſibility with regard to the Cells as well to the perſon of the Inſpector as to every part of the large circle in which I place him, and to every object in it, his ſituation would ſtand expoſed, I am aſſured, to this dilemma: if he has light enough to do any buſineſs, he will be ſeen, whatever I can do, from the Cells: if there is not light enough there for him to be ſeen from the Cells, there will not be light enough to enable him to do his buſineſs.

The difficulty would not be removed, even tho' the Chapel part in the center were thrown out, and the Inſpector's apartment extended ſo as to ſwallow up that central part, and occupy the

whole circle. My expedient of diametrical ſcreens, or partitions croſſing each other at right angles, would not anſwer the purpoſe:* if they extended all the way from the circumference to the center, leaving no vacuity at that part, they would divide the whole circle into ſeparate quadrants: a man could be in but one of theſe quadrants at a time, and while he was in that one he could ſee nothing of the Cells correſponding to the others. Stationed exactly in the center, he would ſee indeed, but he could at the ſame time be ſeen from, all the Cells at once. No ſpace can ever be ſo exactly cloſed as to exclude the light, by any living figure.

Suppoſing the apertures I had contrived in the ſcreens inſtead of doors capable of anſwering the purpoſe, they would leave to the Lodge ſo provided but little if any advantage over an annular Gallery at the extremity of the circle, as contrived by Mr. Revely. The circuit might be performed nearer the center, but ſtill to carry on the proceſs of inſpection a circuit muſt be performed. Nor could it be performed in an exact circle: the ſmaller circle thus meant to be performed, would be broken in upon and lengthened in four places by zigzags, which would retard a man's progreſs more than an equal length of circle, and might upon the whole conſume a portion of time little leſs than what would be requiſite for performing the perambulation in Mr. Revely's Inſpecton-Galleries.†

Add

* See Letter II.

† The truth is, what one would hardly have ſuppoſed, that for performing this perambulation, a walk of about 46 feet and

Add to this, that the darkneſs thus ſpread over the ſtation of the Inſpector, would not admit of any cure. A candle could not be made to illuminate any object he had occaſion to ſee, without throwing out rays that would render him more or leſs viſible, and his ſituation and occupation more or leſs apparent, from the Cells. If a ſcreen concentric to the circumference of the room were any where interpoſed, and light admitted within ſide of it by a ſky-light or void ſpace over the center of the building, that would increaſe the length of the zig-zag circuit to be performed through the diametrical

back again in a ſtraight line is pretty well ſufficient. Station the Inſpector any where with his eye contiguous to the outer circumference of his ring, he can, without quitting the ſpot he ſtands or ſits on, command a view of ſeven Cells on each ſide. In the ſame ring 46 feet may be deſcribed in walking without deviating from the right line: and 46 feet is the length of the chord ſubtending the ſpace occupied in the circumference by 5 Cells. A walk then, in a line equal and oppoſite to the chord ſubtending the part of the Gallery that correſponds to the Dead Part, will give an Inſpector in his Gallery a view of the whole circuit. If, as in caſe of the admiſſion of female priſoners, the circuit be divided in any ſtory between a male and female Inſpector, the part allotted to each may, it is evident, be commanded without any change of place. The views thus obtained are not, it muſt be confeſſed, compleat ones: more or leſs of every Cell but two being all along intercepted by the Partition-walls. But it is chance only, and not deſign, that can withdraw a priſoner in any part of the circuit out of the Inſpector's view: never knowing in what part of the Gallery the Inſpector is at the time, no one part of any Cell can promiſe him any better chance of concealment than another.

The calculation, it is to be obſerved, is taken from the real deſign: were the meaſurement to be performed upon the engraving, the reſult, owing to the error already mentioned, would be ſtill more favourable.

trical ſcreens, ſtill more: if there were no ſuch concentric ſcreens, the thorough light would be completely let in, rendering the Inſpector and every other object in the room compleatly viſible from all the Cells.

Happily this union of incompatible conditions, however requiſite to fill up the meaſure of ideal perfection, is far from being ſo with regard to practical uſe. In the narrow annular Gallery, as contrived by Mr. Revely, the condition of inviſibility may be preſerved, I am aſſured, in full perfection. By being painted black in the inſide, that ſtation may be rendered by the help of blinds, as I had propoſed, compleatly dark, its narrowneſs rendering it impermeable to the thorough light.

To change his proſpect, the Inſpector muſt, it is true, be obliged to ſhift his ſtation. He muſt therefore from time to time patrole and go his round in the manner of a centinel or a watchman: and this muſt form a conſiderable part of the employment. It need not however occupy any thing near the whole.* Stationed at no more than 28 or 29 feet from the exterior windows, and cloſe to the ſpace illuminated by the ample ſky-light over the Annular Well, he would have light

* The greateſt diſtance from one part of his range to the other would be 93 feet, being half the length of the circumference of the circle at that part.

light enough to read or write by: and theſe employments, by the help of a portable ſtool and deſk, he might carry on at times at any part of the circle. Books may be kept, entries made, as well in a room of an annular figure, as in a round or ſquare one.

Nor will the time employed in perambulation be thrown away, or expended upon the ſingle purpoſe of keeping order among the priſoners. Had he, inſtead of this ring, had the whole circle to range in, he would have had frequent occaſion thus to travel in the circumference, were it only to give occaſional orders and inſtructions to the priſoners as they ſit at work in their Cells, as well as to let them in and out in manner already mentioned.*

One

* See § 3, *Annular Well*, and Part II. § *Airing*.

Your occaſional vigilance will not do, ſays an objector: *Your priſoner will make experiments upon it, diſcover when Argus nods, and make his advantage of the diſcovery. He will hazard a venial tranſgreſſion at a venture: that unnoticed, he will go on to more material ones*—Will he? I will ſoon put an end to his experiments: or rather, to be beforehand with him, I will take care he ſhall not think of making any. I will ſingle out one of the moſt untoward of the priſoners. I will keep an unintermitted watch upon him. I will watch until I obſerve a tranſgreſſion. I will minute it down. I will wait for another: I will note that down too. I will lie by for a whole day: he ſhall do as he pleaſes that day, ſo long as he does not venture at ſomething too ſerious to be endured. The next day I produce the liſt to him.—*You thought yourſelf undiſcovered: you abuſed my indulgence: ſee how you were miſtaken. Another time you may have rope for two days, ten days: the longer it is, the heavier it will fall upon you. Learn from this, all of you, that in this houſe tranſgreſſion never can be ſafe.* Will the policy be cruel? No; it will be kind: it will prevent tranſgreſſing: it will ſave puniſhing.

One expedient there remains by which, if it be worth while, the inviſibility of the Inſpector may be preſerved to him, without the obligation of ever ſtirring from his ſeat. This however is ſubject to two reſtrictions: one is, that whenever he quits a particular ſpot in the room to paſs to any other part of the ſame room he muſt become viſible: the other is that his inviſibility is not ſhared by any other perſon in the room. The expedient is to place the Inſpector in a kind of lantern, ſhaped ſomewhat like two ſhort necked funnels joined together at their necks.

Placed as before on a floor ſituated midway between the floor and the cieling of the lowermoſt of the two ſtories he commands, his light comes to him from a ſpot elevated above the eye of a perſon ſtanding in the uppermoſt of thoſe ſtories: conſequently in all caſes above the eye of any perſon dwelling in that upper ſtory. Level with his eye whether ſitting or ſtanding, the lantern narrows to ſuch a degree as to enable him carry his eye, cloſe to the circumference all round, without changing the ſpot he ſits or ſtands on.

To give him his view, the lantern is pierced at both elevations with ſmall holes, correſponding, as upon trial ſhall be found moſt convenient, each of them to one or two or ſome greater number of the Cells. Theſe holes are no larger than the aperture

ture of a common ſpying glaſs, and like that cloſed by a piece of glaſs, which if neceſſary might be coloured, or ſmoked, or darkened by a blind. Grant that after all they will not perfectly exclude the thorough light, nor prevent his figure from being to a certain degree viſible from the Cells. Still however the part of his figure thus betrayed will be ſo ſmall, that to the purpoſe of diſcovering to a priſoner in his Cell whether the eye of the Inſpector is at that moment directed towards him or us, it will be the ſame thing as if he were inviſible. That, by diminiſhing the apertures to a certain degree, the effect might be compaſſed, is undubitable: for the lantern might be of the thinneſs of paper; in ſhort it might in that part be of paper and then a pin-hole would be ſufficient to give him a view. Any opake object to let down by a line and pully on his going out would prevent his abſence from being diſcernible. The difference between a body of that magnitude conſtantly at reſt and one occaſionally in motion would be marked by the ſmallneſs of the apertures.

At the altitude reaching between the height of his eye when ſitting, and the height of his eye when ſtanding, the lantern could not be too narrow: it ſhould be only juſt wide enough to admit his head and ſhoulders with eaſe. Above and below that height the wider the better, for the ſake of air and room, ſo as it did not ſwell out in ſuch manner as to intercept his view.

The

The next queſtion is, how to prevent the priſoners from ſeeing when it is he quits his ſtation? His exit and return if performed by a door in the ſide, would be viſible from all or almoſt all the Cells: his lantern not ſerving him in the capacity of a ſcreen on ſuch occaſions to any degree worth mentioning. To prevent ſuch diſcovery, his entrance muſt be, not at an ordinary door on the ſide, but at a trap-door by a ladder from below. The lantern might however beſides that be furniſhed with a door at the ſide, to give him paſſage at times when the concealment of his ſituation was no longer material, and when he ſaw occaſion to ſhew himſelf for any purpoſe to the inhabitants of any particular Cell: for inſtance to give a priſoner paſſage to or from his Cell for the purpoſe and in the manner already mentioned.

The central aperture, large as it is would be no bar to the employing of this contrivance. The lantern, it is true could not occupy this central part: It muſt be placed ſomewhere on one ſide of it, in ſome part of ſome ſurrounding ring. The Inſpector therefore, while ſtationed in this lantern, would not have a view equally near of all his Cells: but of all he would have ſome view, and that, one may venture to ſay, a ſufficient one: the difference would only be the diſtance from the center of the lantern to the center of the building:

building: ſay from ten to a dozen feet. The part too from which he was in this manner fartheſt removed might be the Dead part where there are no Cells: a diviſion which upon the preſent plan, occupies five parts in twenty-four of the whole circuit.

Still however an apartment thus circumſtanced would not ſerve perfectly well for viſitors: for they at any rate would be viſible to the priſoners: which for the reaſons already mentioned, it were better they ſhould not be. Here then comes in one uſe of the Inſpector's Lodge, a room ſituated within the Inſpection-Gallery, and encircled by it all round. Many other uſes, and thoſe very material, will be obſerved in it when the conſtruction has been deſcribed: uſes, to which, it will be equally manifeſt that a tranſparent room, fitted up with an inſpection lantern, would not be applicable with advantage.

The Inſpector's Lodge is a circular or rather annular apartment immediately underneath the Chapel. The diameter I propoſe now to give it is 54 feet including the aperture in the center.*

 The

* In ſome of the impreſſions of the Draught it appears but 42 feet: difference 12 feet. But of this ſix feet are taken away from this part by an error in the Draught as already mentioned: the other ſix feet, by the three feet added to the depth of the Inſpection

The central aperture in this ſtory is of the ſame diameter as in the area of the Chapel, and the dome that crowns it, viz. 12 feet: it ſerves here to light the center of the *diametrical paſſage*, of which under the head of *Communications*. This aperture is likewiſe of farther uſe in the way of ſafeguard: for which alſo ſee the head of *communications*.

As the central aperture in the floor of the Lodge gives light to the paſſage in the ſtory underneath, ſo does the correſpondent aperture in the area of the Chapel give light to the Lodge.

Of theſe central apertures that which is in the floor of the Chapel takes nothing of the room from viſitors. During Chapel times it is cloſed: the ſtate of darkneſs to which it thereby reduces the Lodge is then of no conſequence, ſince at thoſe times nobody is there. So likewiſe in a cold winter's evening, when day-light gives place to candle-light, the faculty of cloſing this aperture will probably be found to have its convenience. Its height, at the circumference, is that of the Inſpection-Gallery, about 7 feet: at the central aperture about 13½ feet *: within that aperture, about 61 feet:

tion Gallery in this ſtory: an addition which I have determined to take away: it has no ſpecific uſe; and it would throw the Lodge ſo far back as to be precluded by the bottom of the middlemoſt Inſpection Gallery from the poſſibility of having any view at all of the uppermoſt ſtory of Cells.

* The Draught does not give quite ſo much. The higher the better, ſo long as it does not raiſe the floor of the Chapel ſo much

feet: that being the depth below the ſky-light by which the central apertures are crowned. The ceiling is conſequently a ſloping one: dropping in the courſe of 18 feet about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet: viz. from $13\frac{1}{2}$ to 7.

All round the circuit, the Dead part excepted, runs a narrow zone of windows, to open to the Lodge an occaſional view of the cells. Of theſe the two lower ſtories may be ſeen through the lowermoſt Inſpection-Gallery: the others without any intermedium.

The ways in which this view might be opened are more than one: the ſimpleſt is to put two rows of panes; one for giving a view of the two lowermoſt ſtories of Cells, a little below the higheſt part of the upright partition; the other for the four remaining ſtories, in the chord ſubtending the angle made by the junction of that partition with the ceiling. To theſe may be adapted blinds of coarſe white muſlin or linen, pierced every inch or two with eyelet holes about the ſize of an ordinary ſilver ſpangle. By this means matters may unqueſtionably be ordered in ſome way or other, ſo that no view at all ſhall be obtainable in the Cells of any thing that paſſes in the Lodge: at the ſame time that

much as that the heads of the Chapel viſitors, when ſtanding, ſhall conceal the Miniſter from the priſoners when kneeling in the ſecond ſtory of Cells.

that a perſon in the Lodge may by applying his eye cloſe to any of the holes, obtain a perfectly diſtinct view of the correſponding Cells.

By the central aperture, were that all, a moderately good light, it is ſuppoſed, would be afforded to the Lodge: and this light cannot but receive ſome addition from the luminous zone thus given to the circumference.*

To gain the height at which the buſineſs of inſpection can in this manner be occaſionally performed from the Lodge, an aſcent of about 1 or $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet muſt be made: this may be done by a circular bench of about 2 feet wide, attached all round to the Partition-wall. It may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Inſpection-platform* or *Inſpection-bench*.

By means of the lower part of this zone the Inſpector of the Gallery attached may himſelf be inſpected by his ſuperiors from the Lodge: reciprocity will be prevented by the advantage in height given to the commanding ſtation. He may alſo be relieved at any time: and whenever the windows of the Gallery are thrown open for air, the Lodge

* The Pantheon at Rome, which is more than twice the height of the ſpace between the floor of the Lodge and the opening ſky-light over the aperture, is lighted, and according to Mr. Revely's obſervation, very well lighted, by an aperture of about twice the diameter of the one here propoſed.

Lodge ſucceeds, in a manner of courſe, to its inſpection-powers: the view brightening of itſelf at the time when a view particularly clear is more particularly wanted. So likewiſe when the Inſpector in the Gallery is obliged to ſhew himſelf at any particular ſpot, for inſtance by opening the door of one of the Cells, loſing thereby his omnipreſence for the time.*

The Lodge is the heart, which gives life and motion to this artificial body: hence iſſue all *orders:* here center all *reports.*

The converſation-tubes, ſpoken of in the Letters, will on this occaſion be recollected: here they will find employment in more ſhapes than one.

One ſet is for holding converſe with the ſubordinate Inſpectors in the two ſuperior Galleries. A ſmall tube of tin or copper† paſſes from the Lodge, in

* In a Panopticon which had eight ſtories of Cells, it might perhaps be not amiſs to make the experiment of the Lantern. It might be performed on a floor between the Lodge and the Chapel: the ladder or ſmall ſtaircaſe to it, like that of a pulpit, aſcending through the ceiling of the Lodge. It might be tried at a ſmall expence: and in caſe of its not anſwering, it would be eaſy to give to this ſtory the form of the other. Poſſibly in different ways both arrangements might have their uſe.

But the ſorts of Panopticons to which the contrivance of the Lantern is more particularly adapted, are thoſe in which ſeclufion from ſociety would be out of the queſtion, ſuch as Houſes of Induſtry, free Manufactories, or Schools.

† About the ſize of a *pea-ſhooter*, a play-thing uſed by children for blowing peas will probably be ſufficient.

in an horizontal direction, to one of the ſupports of the lowermoſt Inſpection-Gallery running immediately underneath the roof, to which it is attached by rings. Here, bending to a right angle, it runs up along the ſupport till it reaches that one of the two ſuperior Galleries for which it is deſigned: it there terminates in a mouth-piece level with the ear or mouth if a perſon ſitting there. A ſimilar mouth-piece is fitted to it at its commencement in the Lodge.

A tube of this ſort for each Gallery may be attached to every one, or every other one, of the 19 Gallery-ſupports correſponding to the number of the Cells.

The tubes belonging to the different ſtories ſhould be attached together in pairs, with their reſpective mouth-pieces in the Lodge contiguous: that a ſuperior in that apartment may have it in his power to hold converſe with the ſubordinates of the two different Galleries at the ſame time, without being under the neceſſity of vibrating all the while from place to place.

Whether the voice alone will be ſufficient, or whether a bell will be neceſſary, to ſummon a ſubordinate Inſpector from the moſt diſtant part of his Gallery to the ſtation correſponding to that choſen by the ſuperior in the Lodge, may perhaps not be capable of being decided to a certainty without experiment. If a bell be neceſſary it may be convenient

nient to have one for every tube: and the wire by running in the tube as in a ſheath will be preſerved from accidents.*

The

* The power poſſeſſed by metallic tubes of conveying the ſlighteſt whiſpers to an almoſt indefinite diſtance, can be no ſecret to ſuch readers as have ſeen any of the exhibitions of Speaking Figures, whoſe properties depend upon this principle.

Many a reader may alſo have ſeen Mr. Merlin's ingenious contrivance of written tablets of orders, for maſters above to ſervants below, an index pointing to a tablet in the ſuperior room, giving motion to an index pointing to a duplicate tablet in the inferior room, upon the principle of the drawing machine called a *pantograph*. The converſation-tubes abovementioned might perhaps ſupply the place of thoſe order-tablets, and if at all, with very conſiderable advantage. The intercourſe by the tablets is *limited* to the few orders they can be made to hold: it is not reciprocal: the apparatus, from what I recollect of Mr. Merlin's price, would I ſhould ſuppoſe be more expenſive.

For ſuch purpoſes the tube alone without a bell would anſwer the purpoſe, ſuppoſing the ſervant to be in the room into which it opened, and not unwilling to receive the order: but for ſummoning him from a diſtant part of the houſe, and for putting a negative upon all pretence of not hearing, nothing it is evident but a bell can ſerve.

The tube, as already mentioned, might ſerve as a ſheath to encloſe the bell: thus the expence of the ſheaths, which are at preſent employed in ſome caſes, would be ſaved. At the places where cranks are neceſſary, the tubes, that the continuity may not be broken, muſt be enlarged to receive them. Whether the voice would continue intelligible, as well as audible, after ſo many inflexions of the tube as may be neceſſary in ſome caſes in common houſes, is more than without experiment I can pretend to ſay. In the preſent caſe there is but one angle, and even that, in caſe of neceſſity, might be got rid of.

Wire, by its rigidity being liable to twiſt and ſnap, perhaps the flax of New South Wales, when that admirable commodity comes to be ſupplied in ſufficient quantities for manufacture, might be ſubſtituted with advantage.

Under the different mouth-pieces opening into the ſervants' apartments, might be painted the names of the rooms to which they reſpectively correſponded.

Copper,

The other ſet of converſation-tubes is to enable an Inſpector in the Lodge to hold converſe in his own perſon, whenever he thinks proper, with a priſoner in any of the Cells. Fixed tubes, croſſing the Annular-Well and continued to ſo great a length being plainly out of the queſtion, the tubes, for this purpoſe can be no other than the ſhort ones in common uſe under the name of *ſpeaking-trumpets*. To an Inſpector ſtationed in the Lodge it is not indeed in every part of every Cell that a priſoner with whom he may have occaſion to hold converſe

Copper, by thoſe who would not grudge the expence, would on ſeveral accounts be evidently preferable to tin. In the maſter's apartment, gilt mouth-pieces would form an ornamental addition to the furniture.

It is certainly an aukward circumſtance, and which occaſions much waſte of time in families, for a ſervant to be obliged to go up three or four pair of ſtairs to receive orders which are to be executed in the kitchen from whence he came.

Since writing the above, I recollect the having ſeen a tube employed for this purpoſe many years ago at Meſſrs. Nairne and Blunt's, Mathematical Inſtrument-makers, in Cornhill, to great advantage. It reaches from the bottom of the ſtaircaſe to a level with a workſhop in the garret.

At Mr. Merlin's too I recollect having heard of an inſtance in which the principle is employed in a piece of mechaniſm ſet up ſince I was there. Diſcourſe is carried on in whiſpers between two perſons addreſſing themſelves to two heads ſet up at the oppoſite ends of a long room. There muſt therefore be two angles made; two perpendicular tubes inſerted into an horizontal one.

It is curious to think what a length of time an idea may lie, without receiving ſome of its moſt obvious as well as uſeful applications. For how many centuries was the art of engraving for impreſſions practiſed to inimitable perfection on ſmall ſtones, without its occurring to any one to apply it to plates or types upon a large ſcale?

converſe will be already viſible. But to render him ſo there needs but an order ſummoning him to the grating: which order may be delivered to him through the local ſubordinate from the Inſpection-Gallery belonging to that ſtory of Cells.

Here may be obſerved the firſt opening of that ſcene of clock-work regularity which it would be ſo eaſy to eſtabliſh in ſo compact a microcoſm. Certainty, promptitude, and uniformity are qualities that may here be diſplayed in the extreme. Action ſcarcely follows thought, quicker than execution might here be made to follow upon command.

Turn now to the good Howard's Penitentiary-Town, and conceive a dozen Taſk-maſters and Turnkeys running on every occaſion from one corner of it to the other and back again (little leſs than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile) to receive ſome order from the Governor, the priſoners their own maſters all the while.

Hither come the cuſtomers to ſuch priſoners as exerciſe their original trades: at ſtated times, to bring materials and take back work: and at moſt times to give orders. By the converſation-tubes, converſe for this as well as every other permitted purpoſe, is circulated inſtantaneouſly with the utmoſt facility to the greateſt diſtance. Even the

 intervention

intervention of the local Inſpector is not neceſſary. A call from a ſpeaking trumpet brings the remoteſt priſoner to the front of his Cell, where he may be ſeen by the cuſtomer as well as heard. Under each ſpeaking-trumpet hangs a liſt of the Priſoners to whoſe Cells it correſponds. The names are on ſeparate cards, which are ſhifted as often as a priſoner happens to be ſhifted from Cell to Cell. As to the two loweſt ſtories of Cells, converſe with them may be carried on directly from the correſponding Inſpection Gallery.

The Lodge may ſerve as a Common-Room for all the officers of the houſe. Of its diviſion into male and female ſides I ſpeak elſewhere. On the male ſide the Sub-Governor, the Chaplain, the Surgeon, and perhaps another officer ſuch as the head School-maſter, may have each his ſeparate apartment, divided however from the reſt no otherwiſe than by a moveable ſcreen, not reaching to the ceiling, and leaving free paſſage as well round the central aperture as round the Inſpection-Platform attached to the ſurrounding wall.

In this ſame apartment the officers, male and female, may make their meals in common. Room is not wanting. Why not, as well as fellows in a College? This ſurely would not be the leaſt active nor leaſt uſeful of all Colleges. Too much of their

their time cannot be ſpent in this central ſtation, when not wanted on immediate duty. No expedient that can help to bring them hither, or keep them here, ought to be neglected. The legitimate authority of the Governor and Sub-Governor will here receive aſſiſtance, their arbitrary power reſtraint, from the preſence of their aſſociates in office. A Governor, a Sub-Governor will bluſh if not fear, to iſſue any tyranical order in preſence of ſo many diſapproving witneſſes: whoſe opinion, tacit or expreſſed, will be a bridle upon his management, though without power to oppoſe and diſturb it. Monarchy with publicity and reſponſibility for its only checks, ſuch is the beſt, or rather the only tolerable form of government for ſuch an empire.

In Mr. Howard's Penitentiary Town, each Officer has his houſe, all ſeparate, and all out of ſight and hearing of the priſoners. This latter arrangement may be the more agreeable one of the two to the ſervant, but which is the beſt adapted to the ſervice?

The want of ſide windows as in other rooms will render it eligible at leaſt, if not neceſſary, to make a proviſion of *air-holes* for the purpoſe of ventilation.

The ſupports to the ſurrounding Gallery, as ſhewn in the engraved plan, might, if made hollow

low anſwer this intention, and ſave the making an apparatus of tubes on purpoſe. In this caſe however each ſupport would require an horizontal tube inſerted into it at right angles, which might run cloſe and parallel to the converſation-tubes, immediately under the ceiling.

It is at the level of the ceiling that theſe air-tubes ſhould diſcharge themſelves into the Lodge, and not at the level of the floor. In the latter caſe they could not anſwer this intention without a continual blaſt, which in cold weather would be very troubleſome. In the other way the blaſt beginning above the level of the head, is directed upwards and gives no annoyance. Health is not bought at the expence of comfort.

In giving the ſlope to the ceiling in manner above-mentioned, I had two conveniences in view: ventilation and ſtowage. To ventilation, which is the principal object, a rectilinear ſlope in this caſe is more favourable not only than a horizontal ceiling, but even then a coved ceiling or dome. Both would have left a ſpace untraverſed by the current: in the one caſe the ſpace would have been angular: in the other there would ſtill have remained ſome ſpace for ſtagnant air, though leſſened by the abraſion of the angle.

The

The reduction of the height of the ceiling at this part leaves a quantity of room, of which ſome uſe may be made in the way of *ſtowage*. From the area of the Chapel the floor muſt, as well as the ceiling below, have a certain degree of ſlope to afford the ſecond ſtory of Cells a view of the Miniſter. But the declivity in the ceiling begins, not under the *circumference* of that area, but much nearer the center, viz. at the central aperture. Hence, after neceſſary allowance for thickneſs of floor and ceiling, there will remain a void ſpace of conſiderable extent all round, the exact dimenſions of which it is needleſs to particulariſe: Diſpoſing the ſlope here and there in regular and gentle flights of ſteps for the purpoſe of communication, in other places the thickneſs of 2 or 3 or 4 ſteps may be laid together to receive drawers or preſſes.

A place ſtill more convenient in proportion to the extent of it, in the way of ſtowage, will be the ſpace immediately underneath the Inſpector's platform in the Lodge. It will ſerve for preſſes or drawers opening into the ſurrounding Gallery.

A more conſiderable ſpace runs from behind the two ſuperior Galleries, under the ſteps of the Chapel-Galleries to which they are reſpectively attached. Tools and materials of work of which the bulk is not very conſiderable will find very convenient

venient receptacles in theſe ſeveral places, where they will be in readineſs to be delivered out and received back by being handed over the Annular Well, to the priſoners in their Cells.

As to the mode of *warming* the Lodge it will be conſidered in the Section ſo entitled*.

* How to reconcile the uſe of the Lodge as a Dining room with the purity of air neceſſary to the reception of company in the Chapel? By making the Saturday's dinner the laſt meal, dedicating to ventilation the whole interval between that period and the commencement of Divine Service in the enſuing day.

§ 9. OF THE

COMMUNICATIONS IN GENERAL.

UNDER the general name of *Communications* may be compriſed,

1. The Paſſages, and Galleries ſerving only as paſſages.

2. Staircaſes.

3. Gates, Doors, and apertures anſwering the purpoſe of doors.

None of theſe but are articles of very material concern in a priſon.

In a Panopticon priſon one general problem applies to all: to extend to all of them, without exception or relaxation, the influence of the commanding principle. Cells, Communications, Outlets, Approaches, there ought not any where be a ſingle foot ſquare, on which man or boy ſhall be able to plant himſelf, no not for a moment, under any aſſurance of not being obſerved. Leave but a ſingle ſpot thus unguarded, that ſpot will be ſure to

to be a lurking place for the moſt reprobate of the priſoners, and the ſcene of all ſorts of forbidden practices.

In an ordinary public building there is an uſe in having the Communications ſpacious and numerous. In a priſon they ought rather to be few and narrow. Convenience is the great object in the one caſe, ſecurity in the other. The fewer the eaſier guarded: the narrower, the leſs force there can be at any given point to oppoſe to the commanding and defenſive force of the priſon. Nor will the ſacrifice requiſite to be made of convenience be found ſo great as might be imagined. In an ordinary public building, perſons have occaſion to paſs in indeterminate numbers at a time, and the ſame perſon frequently. In a well-contrived and well-regulated priſon, at leaſt in a priſon upon this conſtruction, the perſons who are to paſs, and the times at which they have occaſion to paſs are all foreknown and regiſtered.—Sacrifice did I ſay? The reader has already ſeen much convenience gained, and I hope he will ſee ſcarce any ſacrificed.

The objects that required to be attended to in planning a ſyſtem of Communications for an eſtabliſhment of this kind were, 1. The *ends* to be kept in view in the contrivance. 2. The places to and *from* which Communications were to be contrived:

trived: the perſons and things *for* which the Communications might be wanted.

The *ends* to be kept in view with regard to the priſoners are principally four.

1. Uninterrupted expoſure to inviſible inſpection.

2. Inability to attack the keeper or do other miſchief.

3. Separation of the Sexes, if both are included in one building.

4. Prevention of converſe with priſoners of other Cells, at times of paſſing to and fro.

The *places* in queſtion are, 1. The Cells. 2. The Inſpection Galleries. 3. The Inſpector's Lodge. 4. The Chapel. 5. The Ware-rooms. 6. The Fire-places. 7. The Yards.

The *perſons* in queſtion are, 1. The Priſoners. 2. The Keepers. 3. Viſitors to the Head-keeper and other officers, on buſineſs or curioſity. 4. Viſitors to the Chapel.

The *things* in queſtion may be reduced to the head of, 1. Machines. 2. Materials for work. 3. Finiſhed work. 4. Proviſions.

§ 10. *COMMUNICATIONS.*

PRISONERS' STAIR-CASES.

STAIRCASES for the Priſoners are of courſe requiſite from the bottom to the top of that part of the building which they are to inhabit: from the ſunk ſtory below the Cells to the upper ſtory of the Cells.

I make two ſets of Staircaſes and but two—I put them into the Dead-part—I place them in ſtories one over another, and not, as was once propoſed to me, winding all over the building—I place them in a line within the inner boundary or back front of the Cells, yet not extending ſo far the other way, as to the exterior boundary or fore front—I make them of iron bars—I make the flight of ſteps run in a direction parallel, and not at right angles, to the Cell-Galleries and Inſpection-Galleries—I give them Pully-doors with warning-bells where they open into the Galleries—I carry them down to the ſunk ſtory below the Cells—I make them at the utmoſt not wider than the Galleries.

1. I make two of them, partly to ſhorten in ſome degree the paſſage to each, but principally to provide for the ſeparation of the ſexes, if both are received into one building, as in a building of this kind they might be without inconvenience*.

2. I make no more than two. In a building for ordinary uſes this number might be ſcanty: it is not in ſuch an one as the preſent. The occaſions on which they will be wanted are few: they may be all known and numbered.†

3. I place the ſtaircaſes of different ſtories in one pile over one another, not in a ſpiral running round the building. In the latter caſe the priſoners in each ſide would in their aſcent and deſcent paſs each

* See the Section on the *Separation of the Sexes*.

† 1. For meals they will not be wanted. The proviſion is hoiſted up to the Cells in trays or baſkets, by cranes, one on each ſide: a tray for each ſtory of Cells. In each ſtory one or two priſoners diſtribute the contents among the Cells. Two double Cells being taken off by the Dead part, nine remains on each ſide, with an odd one in the middle: this makes at two priſoners to a Cell, to each ſtory twenty meſſes to be hoiſted up on each ſide: at three priſoners to a Cell, 30.

There remains only airing-times as far as the priſoners are concerned. On Week-days I air them by walking in a wheel without doors, [See the ſection on Airing.] Airing times occur for each priſoner but once in twenty-four hours. Were it much oftener, the time employed in deſcending and reaſcending would not be altogether loſt: it would go in part of exerciſe: a neceſſary article of regimen for ſedentary employments which *cæteris paribus* I prefer for reaſons herein after given. See § on Employments.

Inſpectors.

each of them by the Cells of all the floors below his own. But ſuch a perambulation would but ill accord with that plan of ſecluſion, which, from the mitigation given to it may and ought to be adhered to with the greater ſtrictneſs. On the plan here preferred, the perambulation and thence the opportunity of converſe is reduced to its leaſt limits.*

4.

Inſpectors, Keepers as ſuch, have ſcarce any occaſion to enter the Cells. Stationed no more than 25 feet from the moſt diſtant part of a Cell, and from the neareſt no more than 11, nothing but the occaſion of taking a minute examination of ſome ſmall object can ſummon them thither. Once a day at moſt will be amply ſufficient. The priſoners they let in and out of their Cells, without quitting their own ſtation, in manner hereafter deſcribed. They have beſides for their ſeparate uſe, if neceſſary, the Lodge-Staircaſe for their loweſt floor, and the company's Staircaſes for the two floors above it.

For Taſk-maſters as ſuch, the occaſion to uſe theſe Staircaſes is but little more frequent. Their buſineſs lies in the Cells: all day long, unleſs it be at meal time, they will be in one or other of the Cells. Raw materials may be diſtributed, and finiſhed work collected, at ſtated periods, in the ſame manner as the proviſions. This operation may be directed by the Inſpectors without ſtirring from their Galleries. If a Taſk-maſter as ſuch looks to it, it will be without going backwards and forwards on purpoſe, once upon his entrance upon his buſineſs, and once upon his leaving it.

With priſoners who work at trades they have been bred to, Taſk-maſters will have nothing to do. In many inſtances inſtruction may be conveyed from the Inſpection Gallery: and ſo far there are no Taſk-maſters diſtinct from Keepers.

In ordinary priſons it requires reſolution to be a Keeper: a quality in which men who have been bred to ſedentary trades are liable to be deficient. But in a Priſon where a Keeper never need ſee a priſoner, without either a wall, or a grating, or a ſpace of ſeven feet between them, the moſt arrant coward need not fear being a Keeper. Courage is almoſt a ſuperfluous virtue.

* The priſoners of a Cell neareſt the Staircaſe have no Cells at all to paſs by: thoſe of a Cell the moſt remote, but *nine*. Their inſtructions are—not to ſtop or ſpeak as they paſs: and for the obſervance of that rule, effectual ſecurity is provided, as will be ſeen under the head of *Airing*, as alſo a little below.

4. I place them in the Dead-part. 1. Becauſe by that means I do not make ſacrifice of any of the Cells: 2. Becauſe I thereby bring them within reach of the Governor or Sub-Governor or both, in ſuch manner that thoſe officers may give an eye that way, without quitting for the purpoſe the Projecting front, in which will be the principal abode of the one, and occaſional buſineſs of the other.

5. I place them within the interior boundary or back front of the Cells, and conſequently within the line of the Cell-Galleries. This I do, that the width of the Cell-Galleries in that part may afford ſufficient landing-place, as well for a priſoner when he has opened the door leading to the ſtaircaſe to the Cell Gallery, as to an Inſpector in his way to the priſoners' ſtaircaſe from the Inſpection-Gallery, of which a little further on.

6. Inſtead of carrying them home to a line with the fore front or exterior boundary of the Cells, ſo as to occupy the whole depth, I make them fall ſhort of that line by a few feet, ſay four feet, excluſive of the thickneſs of the wall, and the apertures, correſponding to windows, that may be made in that thickneſs. In the ſpace thus reſerved I put water-cloſets, at leaſt for the Governor's houſe on his ſide: more eſpecially on his ground floor.

floor. In this receſs he commands without being ſeen, a view of the ſtaircaſe: by which means he is *neceſſarily* obliged, as well as without trouble enabled, to give a look into the Priſon once a day at leaſt, at uncertain and unexpected times. The ground-floor is more peculiarly adapted to this purpoſe, ſince from that ſtation his chance of getting a ſight of the priſoners as they aſcend and deſcend, extends to the inhabitants of every ſtory of Cells in the ſemicircle on that ſide: Whereas on a ſuperior ſtory the chance would not extend to ſuch of the priſoners whoſe Cells were ſituated in any inferior one.

7. The ſtaircaſes are of iron bars and not of brick or ſtone.——1. That they may be the more airy. 2. That one part may intercept the light from another as little as poſſible.—3. That the priſoners as they go up and down may be expoſed as much as poſſible to view from the Inſpection-Galleries in that quarter.

8. It is alſo for the latter reaſon that the flights of ſteps run parallel to the Inſpection-Galleries. Had their courſe been at right angles to thoſe Galleries, the Stairs being interpoſed between the priſoners in their aſcent or deſcent and the Inſpector's eye, would have ſcreened them from his view.

9.

9. The uſe of the Pully-doors, which on opening ring warning bells, is to give notice of the approach of a priſoner, upon an occaſion mentioned elſewhere, to the Inſpector, who by that means is ſummoned to let him into his Cell, and in the mean time to have an eye upon his motions.

10. I place the doors, as in a *Protracted-Partition*, croſſing the Cell-Gallery at that part in its whole width, and conſequently terminating in a line with the balluſtrade: the door being hung on at the ſide neareſt to the Cells, and opening *from* the landing place, behind which runs the ſtaircaſe *upon* the Cell-Gallery: and not from the Cell-Gallery *upon* the landing-place. In this way, partly by the wall, partly by the mode of opening, the view is pretty effectually cut off, as between the priſoners on the ſtaircaſe and thoſe within the Cells*.

11. In making the ſtaircaſes at all wider than the Galleries, there would be no uſe. 1. There can never be any occaſion for conveying by the former any thing that cannot paſs along the latter. 2. There is not even ſo much occaſion for width in the

* If it were worth while, the view might be ſtill more completely cut off, by adding another door parallel to the former, opening upon the landing-place.

the ſtaircaſe as in the Galleries, ſince any thing that could not be conveyed by the ſtaircaſes might be hoiſted up into the Galleries by the Crane. 3. Any thing that required greater width might be conveyed either by the Lodge ſtaircaſe or through the Central Aperture, to the Inſpection Gallery on that floor, and to the two higher floors by the Chapel-Viſitors' ſtaircaſes, of which preſently.

COMMUNICATIONS.

§ 11. *COMMUNICATIONS—*

INSPECTORS' STAIR-CASES.

As to the Keepers, Inſpectors, or Taſk-maſters, there are three ſets of ſtaircaſes of which they may have the uſe. The two firſt are the two ſets of priſoner' ſtaircaſes juſt mentioned: the other ſet is that compoſed of the Lodge Staircaſe on the lower floor of the Inſpection Tower, and the Chapel—Viſitors' Staircaſes in the two upper ones.

In addition however to the Priſoners' Staircaſes there will be required for the Inſpectors' from their Galleries ſhort paſſages or Staircaſes of Communication traverſing the intermediate area. Theſe I call the *Traverſing* or *Inſpectors'* Staircaſes.

To make the Inſpectors' Staircaſe I proceed in this manner. At the ſide of the landing place oppoſite to that in which I have placed the door, I carry the Cellular Partition-Wall all the way up, not only acroſs the region of the Cell-Galleries, but alſo acroſs the intermediate area, ſo as to join the Inſpection-Gallery. By this means a ſolid

opake back is given to theſe Staircaſes in every ſtory : and a complete ſeparation is made between the ſeveral piles of Cells with their Staircaſes and the remainder of the Dead part. Parallel to this, and between this and the pile of Staircaſe, doors, at about the diſtance of four feet, I place a thin partition all the way up, with blinded ſpying-holes running in the line level with the Inſpector's eye.

Between the two run two narrow flights of ſteps, no more than about two feet wide each: by that which is neareſt the thick partition, the Inſpector deſcends to that part of the Priſoners' Staircaſe which is upon a level with the inferior one of his two ſtories of Cells; by the other, he aſcends to that which is upon a level with the ſuperior one: or *vice verſâ*. Each flight of ſteps, upon its gaining the landing-place is croſſed by a grated door of equal width, made in the grating which on that ſide forms a boundary to the landing-place from top to bottom, and opening upon the landing-place. This door, which is kept conſtantly locked, the key being in the cuſtody of the Inſpector, ſerves when ſhut to keep the Priſoners from ſtraggling out of their Staircaſe over the Inſpector's Staircaſes, to pry into the Inſpection-Galleries. Being of open work, it affords the Priſoners in their Staircaſe a ſight, it is true, of an Inſpector when croſſing over to them on his Staircaſe. But this

this tranſient expoſure is no derogation to his omnipreſence. To all who ſee him he is preſent: nor is he abſent with regard to thoſe who do not ſee him: ſince from his not being preſent where they can ſee him, viz. on his Staircaſe, it does not follow but that he may be preſent at ſome other part of his ſtation, from whence he may be viewing him while he is himſelf inviſible.

It is needleſs to dwell very particularly on the apertures which for the ſake of ventilation may be made here and there in both theſe traverſing partitions, as likewiſe in the interior tranſverſe boundary of the Staircaſe, from whence the thicker of thoſe partitions is continued: the uſe of them is to give room for currents of air to paſs in a horizontal direction as well as in the perpendicular one.

Thoſe which might be acceſſible to the priſoners, viz. thoſe made in the partition wall of the priſoners' Staircaſe, are in dimenſions not big enough, to give paſſage to the body of a man or boy: ſituated out of the reach of the priſoners, they are cloſed by opening or ſliding windows or ſhutters, capable of being opened and ſhut by a pole, to which the Inſpector has acceſs, and the priſoners not without his leave.

§ 12. *STAIRCASE*

§ 13. *STAIRCASE* FOR *CHAPEL VISITORS*, AND FOR THE *OFFICERS APARTMENTS.*

TO the Staircaſe for company reſorting to the Chapel, I allot the middle one of the five piles of Cells. Of the lowermoſt of theſe half the height is occupied by the upper part of the Diametrical paſſage through the ſunk ſtory. The paſſage to this Staircaſe, 20 feet in length, taking that for the depth of the Projecting front, will be right over the above mentioned Diametrical one. To reach this elevation there will be an aſcent of four 1-half from the ground to be performed by 7 or 8 ſteps.* To light it, which can only be done f.om above, will require the ſacrifice of the center one of the 5 uppermoſt Cells, the four others of which are deſtined for the Infirmary. The reaſons for uſing iron not applying here, I make this Staircaſe of ſtone. Being in uſe only on Sundays for promiſcuous company, and then for no more than four or five

* This inequality is owing to the want of coincidence between the ſtories of the Inſpection Tower, and thoſe of the ſurrounding Cellular part: an irregularity produced by the contrivance of allowing two ſtories of the part to be inſpected to each ſtory of the part from whence the inſpection is to be performed.

five hours of that day, it may ſerve for the Officers' apartment on each ſide : on which account the expence of ſtone need the leſs be grudged.

By two paſſages, one over another, and croſſing the intermediate area, it will diſtribute the different companies to their reſpective ſeats through the channel of the Inſpection Galleries. Of theſe paſſages the lower one is upon a level with the area of the Chapel : the upper one, upon a level with the uppermoſt Inſpection-Gallery. The area of the Chapel being $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the level of the middlemoſt Inſpection-Gallery behind it, the paſſage divides itſelf into three. The central part reaches the Chapel area without change of level, by a trench cut through the Inſpection-Gallery to that depth : on each ſide of it is a flight of ſteps, ſeven or eight in number, by which ſuch of the company as propoſe to ſit in the lowermoſt of the two Chapel-Galleries will be conveyed through the Inſpection-Gallery of that ſtory to that elevation. The uppermoſt paſſage, having no area to lead to, will be uniformly on an elevation with the Inſpection Gallery and Chapel Gallery to which alone it leads. The Inſpection Galleries, encircling all round the Chapel Galleries to which they are reſpectively attached, will diſcharge the company through doors made in any number of places that convenience may point out. The company who go

go to the area of the Chapel will have an aſcent of 13½ feet to make to reach their deſtination: thoſe who go to the lower Gallery 18 feet: thoſe upper, 36 feet.

With the Company's Staircaſes and the paſſages attached to it, the Priſoners' Galleries and Staircaſes, it may be objected that theſe poſſeſs an indirect communication. But ſo muſt every part of every priſon with every other and with the exit. In the preſent inſtance this communication is not ſuch as can be productive of the ſmalleſt inconvenience, either in the way of danger of eſcape, or in the way of offenſive vicinity with regard to the company. To make uſe of the Company's Galleries in the way of eſcape, Priſoners muſt firſt have forced their way into one of the Inſpection-Galleries. How is this to be effected? And at night ſhould they, after having forced the grating of their Cells, attempt to force the door that opens from their Staircaſe into the Inſpection Gallery, there they find the Inſpector, whoſe bed is ſtationed cloſe to that door, that he may be in conſtant readineſs to receive them. As to vicinity, the neareſt part of the priſoners' Staircaſes will be at 12 feet diſtance, nor will they be any of them on any part of thoſe Staircaſes at the time: the doors that open into them from the Cell Galleries will then be locked. As to view, the priſoners' Staircaſes are indeed

deed open : but this only in front, and the company's Staircaſes and Paſſages are cloſed : nor will they ſee any thing of the priſoners, till from their ſeats in the Chapel, they behold them at a diſtance, on the other ſide of the Intermediate Area, ranged in order in their Cells.

§ 13. *CELL-*

§ 13. *CELL-GALLERIES.*

UNDER the name of Galleries have been mentioned, 1. The Priſoners', or Cell Galleries. 2. The Inſpection-Galleries. 3. The Chapel-Galleries. It is only the firſt that come under the head of *Communications*. The two others have been ſpoken of already.

Of the Cell-Galleries little need be ſaid. Attached to the ſeveral ſtories of Cells, they hang over one another and over the Grated paſſage, which but for its grating would form a part of the Intermediate area. I give then four feet in width: with balluſtrades of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Theſe fences ſhould in height be of more than half that of a man, not only to prevent his falling over unawares, but leſt a deſperate priſoner ſhould by a mere puſh have it in his power to throw over a keeper or fellow-priſoner: more than the height neceſſary to afford that ſecurity is ſuperfluous, and it tends to reduce the ſize of the packages capable of being hoiſted up for the Intermediate area into the Cells.

I make

I make them of bars rather than ſolid work for the ſake of ventilation; and of iron rather than wood for the ſake of ſtrength and durability.

Underneath the Galleries runs the paſſage called the *Grated Paſſage*, of the ſame width with thoſe Galleries, but on a level with the Intermediate area below, from which it is ſeparated by a grating alſo of iron, and reaching from within the thickneſs of a man (or rather of a boy) of the floor of that area, to within the ſame thickneſs of the under ſurface of the lowermoſt Cell-Gallery under which it runs. Into this the priſoners are received upon their landing from the loweſt Staircaſe, inſtead of being turned looſe into the Intermediate area, where they would have unlimited acceſs to the under Warehouſes, and by introducing themſelves immediately under the Inſpection-Galleries, ſtation themſelves out of the reach of the Inſpector's eye.

Through this Grated Paſſage there muſt be doors which may be of the ſame materials, to give acceſs to ſervants, or priſoners employed as ſervants, to the fire-places, and other offices under the Cells. On each ſide of the Diametrical-paſſage there muſt be at leaſt one pair of ſuch doors, and there may be any greater number that convenience may require.

The form of the balluſtrade is not altogether a matter of indifference. On account of cheapneſs and tranſparency, the upright bars ſhould be as few and as ſlender as the regard due to ſtrength will allow. On account of ſafe-cuſtody, the form ſhould be ſuch in every part as to preclude a priſoner from taking a ſpring from them, ſo as to jump upon the roof of any of the Inſpection Galleries, which, in a horizontal line, will in the neareſt part be at not more than 8 feet diſtance. On this account the upright bars, inſtead of finding ſeparate horizontal bars at bottom to meet them and afford them ſupport in a line exactly under them, are inflected towards the bottom, and the perpendicular part and the horizontal being both in one piece, the former receives ſufficient ſupport from the latter, and the firſt tranſverſe piece that preſents itſelf capable of affording a man a treading place to ſpring from, runs two or three inches within a perpendicular let fall from the rail. Prevented in this way from riſing to an upright poſture by the overhanging rail, it would be impoſſible for the moſt active jumper to take the ſmalleſt ſpring: he would tumble directly down like a dead weight. Such a configuration may be often ſeen in balconies, though given without any ſuch view. On the ſame account the rail, inſtead of being flat ſhould be brought to an edge, in ſuch manner that the ſection of it ſhall exhibit a triangle, either equal-

equal-legged or right-angled: and if right-angled, with the right angle within-ſide, ſo that the ſide oppoſite the right angle may form a ſlope too ſteep to ſpring from.

Theſe precautions, which would neither of them coſt any thing, ſeem abundantly ſufficient: if not, there are a variety of ways in which the deficiency might be effectually made up: though perhaps not without ſome little inconvenience or expence.*

* For inſtance to crown the rail with ſpikes, which ſhould be ſharp and ſlender: or to let fall, from the bottom of the balcony above, a row of bars projecting in ſuch a manner as to render it impoſſible for man or boy to ſtand upon the rail, in a poſture ſufficiently near to an upright one to enable him to take a ſpring.

§ 14. *DOORS.*

§ 14. *DOORS.*

THE only ones that need any very particular notice are the *Folding-doors* that form the grating to the Cells. Theſe Folding-doors open outwards: 1. Becauſe by this means they may be made ſo as when unlocked, to lift off the hinges, in order to give admittance to machines and bulky packages: and this, as I am aſſured by my profeſſional guide, without prejudice to the ſecurity they afford: 2. Becauſe the opening of them inwards would be productive of continual embaraſſment, unleſs within each Cell a ſpace, equal to that required for one of the leaves to turn in, were left vacant and of no uſe. The two leaves I make unequal: the leſſer ſomething leſs than four feet, the width of the gallery: the larger, will of courſe take the reſt of the ſpace, viz. about ſix feet. The leſſer is the only one I deſign to open on ordinary occaſions: were it equal to the other, that is, were it about five feet, its exceſs of length, when open, beyond four feet (the width of the Gallery into which it opens) would prevent its opening to an angle ſo great as a right angle: whereby

whereby the paſſage it would afford to bulky packages would be proportionally narrowed.

As to *locks*, thoſe contrived by the Rev. Mr. Ferryman, for the late Mr. Blackburn, and by him made uſe of in the conſtruction of the Glouceſter Gaol, I truſt upon the report of that ingenious architect as incapable of being picked: as ſuch, if they are not dearer than ordinary ones in a proportion worth regarding, they will of courſe demand the preference. But the inſpection principle, without detracting any thing from the ingenuity of the invention, takes much from the neceſſity of that and many other priſon contrivances. For in a Panopticon what can be the neceſſity of curious locks? What are the priſoners to pick them with? By what means are they come at any ſort of pick-lock tools, or any other forbidden implements? and ſuppoſing the locks of theſe doors picked, and the locks of more than one other ſet of doors beſides, what is the operator the better for it? Lock picking is an operation that requires time and experiment, and liberty to work at it unobſerved. What priſoner picks locks before a Keeper's face?

An appendage which will have its uſe in the inſtance of every door to which the priſoners have acceſs, is a *warning-bell* attached to it in ſuch a manner

manner as to ring of itſelf upon every opening of the door. The door ſhould likewiſe be made to ſhut to of itſelf, for inſtance, by the common contrivance of a weight with a line paſſing over a pulley. By the former of theſe implements the attention of the Inſpector is drawn upon the priſoner: by the latter, the priſoners are prevented from rendering the bell uſeleſs by leaving the door open by deſign or negligence.

§. 15. *DIAMETRICAL*

§ 15. *DIAMETRICAL PASSAGE.*

ON the ſunk ſtory, right through the center of the building, and leading from the approach through the center of the projecting front, runs the only thorough paſſage called the *Diametrical Paſſage.* It ſerves for the following purpoſes.

1. Admitting the Officers of the Houſe and Viſitors into the Inſpector's Lodge. 2. Admitting machines and bulky packages into the Annular area, from whence they may be either conveyed into the Store-Rooms on that floor, or by pullies or cranes hoiſted up into the Store-Rooms in the roof over the Cells.

Lengths of the Diametrical Paſſage.

From the door in the Projecting front to the circumference of the exterior circle of the Cellular part——ſay — — 20

From the circumference of the great circle to the exterior circle of the Intermediate area: viz. that part of it over which run the Cell-Galleries. — — *17

N. B. Here it meets the light from the ſky-light that crowns the Intermediate Area.

Brought

* In ſome of the impreſſions of the draught by miſtake but 16.

Brought over —— —— 37

From the outer to the inner circumference of the Intermediate Area —— *11

From the inner circumference of the Intermediate Area to the circumference of the central aperture in this ſtory. — — †26

N. B. Here it again receives the light in like manner from above.

From this anterior part of the circumference to the poſterior part — — 12

From the poſterior part of the circumference of the central area to the inner circumference of the intermediate area on the other poſterior ſide. — — — 26

N. B. Here it again receives the light.

From thence to the interior Circle of the Grated paſſage under the Cell-Galleries on that ſide 7

— — — — — 119

Here it is cut into three, in a manner that will be deſcribed in ſpeaking of the *Exit*.

On the details of this Staircaſe with regard to ſituation, dimenſions, and form, it is neither eaſy nor neceſſary at this ſtage of the deſign to make a fixed deciſion. They are left very much at large by

* In ſome of the impreſſions by the ſame miſtake 15.

† In ſome impreſſions by the ſame miſtake but 23.

by the governing principle, and convenience on this head will depend in good meaſure on local circumſtances, ſuch as the form and dimenſions of the Under Warehouſe againſt which the Staircaſe will abut, and the form and dimenſions of the Officers apartments on that ſide, in or near the Projecting front.

The form which in a general view appears moſt advantageous, is that of a ſtraight and ſimple flight of ſteps without return or curvature. The convenience of a return is, that half the room is ſaved; the inconvenience of it is, that the ſpace, a man has to traverſe in order to reach a given point, is augmented, to the amount of what would be the whole length of the Staircaſe, if laid out in a right line. The point however at which it terminates and opens into the Lodge, ſhould at leaſt not go much beyond the central point of that apartment, leſt through ignorance or deſign, acceſs ſhould be gained to the Inſpection-Gallery and thence to the Cells, by viſitors to whom ſuch privileges might not be thought fit to be allowed.

Regularity would require, but convenience does hardly, that on the right hand of the paſſage there ſhould be a ſimilar ſtaircaſe.*

* The right hand ſide of the Priſon being for males, requires the moſt watching and the greateſt reſort, as well on account of numbers

At the line where it falls into the anterior part of the Central Area, the Diametrical Paſſage is croſſed by a pair of folding-gates of open iron-work occupying its whole width. Theſe gates prevent promiſcuous viſitors from advancing any farther, and ſtraggling either into the Warehouſe on each ſide, or the poſterior part of the Intermediate Area.

Before it reaches this tranſverſe gate it receives no ſide doors on either ſide. Such doors, if opening into the anterior part of the Intermediate Area, would require porters to guard them: if into the Warehouſe, viz. the ſpace between the Intermediate and Central Area, they would render it leſs ſafe to make uſe of the labour of the priſoners in that part of the building.

The pavement of the Diametrical Paſſage being upon a level with that of the Annular Area, and the exterior ſurface of the crown of the Arch level with the floor of the lowermoſt Inſpection-Gallery and that of the Inſpection-Lodge, the *height* of this paſſage will be in the clear about 11 feet, and including the thickneſs of the Arch, 12 feet.

In

numbers as of ſex. Hence I make this ſide of the Lodge the principal one for the abode of the officers, and for the reception of cuſtomers and other viſitors. It is therefore on the other ſide that the room for the Staircaſe can beſt be ſpared.

In the floor of the Lodge the Central Aperture will in the day be in general left open, in order to give light to the Central Area. At bed-time it might either be closed for warmth, or left open for security: in order to expose to the view and offensive force of a Keeper lying with a light in the Lodge, any prisoner or prisoners, who contrary to all human probability should have made such progress in a project of escape, as to find themselves in a situation to make an attempt upon the transverse gate *.

At the foot of the Staircase to the Lodge might be a *door*, the opening of which should ring a *warning-bell*, to advertise the Inspector of the approach of visitors as he is sitting in his Lodge. In consideration of this security, added to that of the Porter stationed at the entrance into the Approach, the front door, opening from the Approach into the Diametrical Passage, need not be locked; nor will any such person as a Turnkey, or Porter to the house, be necessary. At the foot of the Staircase,

* The cover for the Central Aperture might be so constructed as to form, when lifted up on hinges, a parapet, answering the purpose of a balluſtrade, each quadrant turning upon a hinge at the circumference. There would only need a few bars to hook on horizontally, to compleat the circuit. Or, though the aperture were circular, the cover to it might be square. A central piece to lift off, of 4 feet diameter in the one case, or 4 feet square in the other, would reduce the height of the parapet to 4 feet.

caſe. viſitors might be ſtopped from proceeding farther without ringing a bell and obtaining the aſſiſtance of the Inſpector in the Lodge, which by the help of known contrivances he might afford without ſtirring from his ſeat.

To protect the Lodge, when thus thrown open, from the cold blaſts of a thorough paſſage, it will probably be thought neceſſary to add to the grated gates above mentioned a pair of cloſe folding doors: as likewiſe a ſimilar pair of doors on the oppoſite or poſterior ſide of the Central Area. With this defence from cold, there need be the leſs ſcruple about ſtationing a Keeper to ſleep in the Lodge, with the Central Aperture open in the floor.

§ 16. *COMMUNI-*

§ 16. *COMMUNICATIONS—*

EXIT INTO THE YARDS.

THE Exit into the Yards is one of the niceſt parts of the anatomy of the priſon.

The Diametrical Paſſage when arrived at the anterior circumference of the farther ſide of the Annular Area, is abſorbed by it: but recommencing at the poſterior circumference, is there cut into three branches: a middle one, being a line of communication joining without diſcontinuance the Inſpection-Gallery over-head to the *Watch-houſe*, or *Look-out*, that ſerves for the inſpection of the yards; and two lateral ones, one on the male, and the other on the female ſide. Taking their common departure from the grating of the Annular Grated Paſſage, they run on in paralleliſm, like a nerve, an artery and a vein.

The nerve which conveys to the moſt diſtant extremity of this artificial body the all-vivyfying influence of the inſpection principle—the line of communication, I mean — at its origin in the Inſpection-Gallery, preſerves its level for ſome ſpace; that is, ſo long as it hangs over the Intermediate Area,

Area, and till it reaches the region of the Cell-Gallery. While it does ſo, I call it the *Inſpector*'s *Bridge:* and, to diſtinguiſh it from a ſimilar paſs on the outſide of the building, the *Inſpector*'s *Inner Bridge.* At that line, in order to fall within the width of the Grated Paſſage, and get from thence into the Arch that leads to the outſide of the building, it makes a ſudden drop*. Four feet being the whole width, two of them are allowed to form the ſlope at the deſcent, the other two are allotted to give room for the Inſpector at the inſtant after his landing, and before any part of his body is within the Arch †. The ſpace occupied by the firſt two of theſe four feet I call the *Inſpector*'s *Drop:* that occupied by the other two the *Inſpector*'s *Landing-place.* Under the lowermoſt ſtory of the Priſoners' Cells all round runs a ſunk ſtory of Cells compoſed of arches of the ſame width, and depth, but wanting a foot and a half of the height of thoſe which compoſe the Cells. That part of the line of communication which runs through and occupies

* Of the making this ſudden drop, inſtead of giving the line of communication in that part a regular deſcent, commencing at the Inſpection-Gallery, one reaſon is, that it may not block up the Intermediate Area, and obſtruct the introduction of bulky packages from the Diametrical Paſſage. Another uſe is, the forcing the Inſpector to take a view, in his deſcent, of the Diametrical Paſſage and the Warehouſes on each ſide, as will be ſeen preſently.

† Two feet is no great thickneſs: but a man of greater corpulency is certainly not fit to bear an executive part in the government of a priſon.

occupies one of theſe ſubterraneous Arches, I call the *Straits*. The whole width I divide into three paſſages: the middle one, being a continuation of the Inſpector's Landing place, I call the *Inſpector's Straits*. The two others, one on each ſide of the Inſpector's Straits, receive the Priſoners and conduct them through the Arch from the Grated Paſſage: theſe I call the *Priſoners' Straits*. The floor of the Inſpector's Straits I make as much higher as the height of the Arch will admit, above the floor of the Priſoners' Straits on each ſide: the reaſon is, that he may have the more commanding view of them, as he and they go out together. As a farther help, their floor may drop a ſtep juſt before their arrival at this paſs: and from thence it may ſink a little further by a very gentle ſlope: * and the advantage would be encreaſed, by giving an arched form to the partition on the ſide of the priſoners on either hand, the curve bending *from* his ſide towards theirs. In this way the advantage given him may amount to about 14 inches, a ſuperiority which, taking into the account the differences of height between man and man, ſeems to be as much as can be requiſite. This ſuperiority will be thus made out:

	f.	*in.*
Diſtance from the floor of the Cell above (thickneſs of the Arch included) to the floor of the Grated Paſſage beneath—	7	6
	Fall	

* This ſlope would have the farther uſe of facilitating the carrying off the water employed in waſhing the Intermediate Area.

	f.	*in.*
Fall of the latter floor by a ſtep —	0	10
Total depth of the floor on which the priſoners tread, below the floor of the Cell above — — — —	8	4
Thickneſs of the above Arch —	1	0
Space allowed in height for the Inſpector's paſſage — — — —	6	1
Diſtance of the Platform he walks upon below the floor overhead —	7	1
Diſtance of the floor the priſoners walk upon below the ſame level, as before	8	4
Subſtract the Inſpector's diſtance —	7	1
Remains the height of the Inſpector's foot above that of the priſoners —	1	2

In point of *width*, the line of communication, at its origin from the Inſpection-Gallery, and before it reaches the entrance of the Arch, has no particular limitation;* but at that paſs which I call the *Straits*, it muſt conform to the dimenſions which the width of the Arch allows, after reſervation of a ſufficient ſpace for the priſoners on each ſide. If any thing like difficulty occurs any where, it muſt be at the very entrance into the Arch, ſince from that paſs it widens gradually to the Exit. Ought the width of all three paſſages to be alike

* Except with reference to the oppoſite Cell: of which it covers from a direct view, a width equal to its own. On this account, the narrower the better.

alike? or ſhould any, and which, have the advantage in this reſpect over the two? The occaſions which Inſpectors will have to paſs one another will occur but rarely: but in the inſtance of the priſoners, theſe occaſions will be ſtill more unfrequent. On week-days, twice a day each priſoner deſcends to the Airing-wheel: but ſhould they deſcend even in pairs, or three's they would not croſs one another at all: for one does not quit the Wheel till another has arrived there. Neither on Sundays is there any occaſion for them to croſs, at leaſt at this particular ſpot: and all *their* motions may be pre-determined and provided for. Reſtraint is ſuitable to their condition, freedom to that of the Inſpector. A confined ſpace will have the further uſe of cramping any exertions a priſoner might be diſpoſed to uſe, in the view of burſting in upon an Inſpector when engaged in ſo narrow a paſs, with a partition between them of ſo little thickneſs.

Here follows then an example of the dimenſions in point of width that might be given to theſe paſſages.

	At the entrance into the Arch.		At the exit from the Arch.	
	f.	*in.*	*f.*	*in.*
Clear width of the ſpace for the male priſoners' paſſage, on the right hand ſide of the Inſpector's paſſage —	2	6	4	2
Thickneſs of the partition of the Inſpector's paſſage —	0	7	0	7
Clear width of the Inſpector's paſſage — —	3	10	4	0
Thickneſs of the partition of the Inſpector's paſſage on the female ſide — —	0	7	0	7
Clear width of the female priſoners' paſſage —	2	6	4	2
	10	0	13	6

Upon this view, the widths capable of being allowed are ſo much beyond what is abſolutely neceſſary, as to leave a conſiderable latitude of choice.* The partitions may accordingly be made more or leſs thick, according to the nature of the materials. When the Inſpector's paſſage, having gained the region of the Yards, aſſumes the name of the *Covered Way*, the partitions which bound it will naturally require the ſtrength and thickneſs of a wall; while the priſoners' paſſages, having no longer any part

* If they were not, the Arch thus allotted to receive the line of communication might be made wider than the reſt, upon the condition of giving the ſame extra width to that whole pile of Arches all the way up.

part of the building to bound them, will require each of them a wall on purpoſe, as will be ſeen under the head of *Outlets*.

To give the Inſpector his poſſible view of the priſoners as they paſs, there muſt of courſe be *ſight-holes*. They may be cloſed with glaſſes. They ought to be conical: narrower on the Inſpector's ſide than on the priſoners' ſide. Though theſe holes ſhould on the different ſides be on the ſame level, they will not yield to the eye of the priſoner, the thorough light: for they are conſiderably above his eye, and no line drawn towards his eye from any hole on the one ſide, would paſs through any hole on the other: another advantage in ſinking the floor of the priſoners' paſſage below the level of the Inſpector's paſſage. The wall of this paſſage, in the ſame manner as thoſe of the Inſpection-Gallery of which it is the continuance, ſhould for the ſame reaſon be painted black: thoſe of the priſoners' paſſages, for the oppoſite reaſon, kept as white and as gloſſy as poſſible.

The leaſt convenient part of the whole is the *Inſpector's-drop* *.

But

* Two feet only in width to 11 feet 7 inches deſcent, leaves, at the large allowance of nearly one foot for each ſtep, little more than two inches projection of each ſtep beyond the one above it.

But out of this very inconvenience I extract a ſuperior advantage. The deſcent is by a ſort of ladder, deviating ſo little from the perpendicular as to oblige a man, in order to find footing as he goes down, to turn his face *to* inſtead of *from* the ſteps: in ſo doing he gets, and is obliged to get, a view of the Diametrical Paſſage and the Warehouſe on each ſide; ſuch as it would have been difficult to have given him by any other means. A rope or bar to hold by on each ſide, ſaves him from all danger, and even from all inconvenience beyond that of being obliged to turn himſelf half round.

A few inches below the level of the ceiling of the Diametrical Paſſage, is a *ſight-hole* in the partition that forms a back to the ſteps: through this, as he deſcends with his face to the ladder, he gains a full view of that paſſage: and on each hand another ſight-hole, through which he gains a view equally full, through correſpondent apertures, of the inſide of the Warehouſe on each ſide*. By this means the labour of the priſoners may be made uſe of with the leſs ſcruple in all thoſe ſtations, without the neceſſity of ſtationing along with them in each place an Inſpector on purpoſe, and yet

* The Warehouſes are laid out as far as convenience admits in ſuch a manner as to favour this view, upon the *radial* principle, as explained under the head of *Outlets*.

yet without departing in this, any more than any other inſtance, from the principle of omnipreſence.

As to the *relative width* to be given to this line of communication in its different parts, it admits of conſiderable latitude. The moſt natural courſe is to give it the ſame width throughout. In its whole width, whatever that be, it blocks up, not only the whole of the oppoſite Cell of the firſt ſtory of Cells, but even a part of the height of the ſecond ſtory: filling up the place of the Cell-Gallery in both inſtances. To give a paſſage round from the Cell-Gallery on one ſide to the Cell-Gallery on the other, requires ſome little contrivances, with relation to which it is not neceſſary to be either very particular or very determinate. In the upper one of the two ſtories the obſtruction may be obviated, partly by lowering the ceiling of the line of communication in that ſpot, partly by giving a ſtep or two from the Cell-Gallery, on each ſide, to carry the paſſenger in that ſpot acroſs and over the obſtruction: in the lower one of the two ſtories, by cutting out of the Cell, all round the obſtruction, a ſpace ſufficient to make a paſſage of equal width with the Cell-Gallery: viz. four feet.

It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that in order to maintain in this part the limitation ſet to the Priſoners' path, and to prevent them from ſtraggling

gling into the Intermediate Area: or clambering up the line of communication, ſo as to get at top of the Inſpection-Gallery, or force their way in at the windows, the grating of the Annular Grated Paſſage muſt in its form be governed by the configuration of the parts in queſtion, and apply itſelf to them with particular care: and where any part of the line of communication is within reach of the priſoners, either walking in their paſſage or abiding in their Cells, it ſhould be of materials equally impregnable.

§ 17. *EXTERIOR*

§ 17. *EXTERIOR ANNULAR WELL**.

ALL round the polygonal part of the building, runs an Annular trench, which may be called the *Exterior Annular Well*, and its floor the *Exterior Annular Area*. In width I make it 12 feet: leſs than that not being ſufficient to afford length enough to the line of communication in that part between the inſide of the building and the Look-out in the Yards †. The floor for the ſake of carrying off the water, is 8 inches lower than the floor of the Priſoners' paſſage through the building which as mentioned in ſpeaking of the Exit, is itſelf 10 inches below that of the *Interior* Annular Well ‡.

It is bounded all round by a *wall*, which after ſerving for the mere ſupport of the earth from the area

* This Well, except in its width, is but little different from the ſunken Wells or Areas which are ſo common in the front of the London houſes.

† See § *Outlets*. It might even be wider without inconvenience, and without any objection but the extra expence, which is only that of digging and paving. This degree of width, it is true, is not abſolutely neceſſary any where elſe than cloſe to the line of communication, to afford room for it to riſe by a ſtaircaſe to a level with the ground. But on account of light and air, it were better not to narrow the Area any where elſe.

‡ Total 18 inches lower than the Interior-Well. It may be brought to this depth from 12 inches by a gentle ſlope.

area below to the ſurface of the ground above, is crowned by a parapet, reaching about 4 feet above that ſurface. This 4 feet added to the $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, *i. e.* to the 9 feet, makes 13 feet, the height which a priſoner who had let himſelf down into the Well would have to climb up before he could gain the Yards.

It is filled up and cut through in one part only, viz. at and by the line of communication above mentioned, running in the ſame direction with the Diametrical Paſſage.

The uſes of it are as follow:

1. To give light and air to the ſunken ſtory under the Cells.

2. To prevent priſoners from eſcaping, upon the ſuppoſition of their having let themſelves down from the windows. It anſwers in this point of view the purpoſe of a ditch in fortification on the outſide of the building, in the ſame manner as the Intermediate Well that runs parallel to it in the inſide.

3. To reduce the aſcent which the Chapel Viſitors have to perform in order to gain the Chapel, and to afford a place for a Kitchen and other ſuch offices to the Governor's houſe, without ſacrificing a ground-

a ground-floor to that purpoſe, and lodging him and his family at an inconvenient height.

4. To afford all round a commodious place for cellaring, capable of being enlarged indefinitely as occaſion may ariſe.

Were there no ſuch trench cut on the outſide, what would be the conſequence—Either?

1. The building remaining in all other particulars the ſame, the ground muſt be brought cloſe to it all round: or,

2. The ſtory under the Cells muſt be omitted altogether, as well in the Cellular part as in the Inſpection Tower: or,

3. That ſtory muſt be raiſed above ground, and the whole building made ſo much higher.

In all three caſes, the 2d and 4th of the above advantages would be loſt. A priſoner who had let himſelf down from any of the windows would find nothing capable of preventing him from going on to the exterior wall: the convenience of cellaring would be loſt: and, the floor of the loweſt ſtory of Cells being even with the ground, there would be nothing to hinder the priſoners in the Yards from holding promiſcuous converſe with the priſoners on that ſtory of the Cells.

In the firſt caſe too, the ſpace under the Cells would be reduced to the condition of mere cellaring: not fit for any perſon to abide in, or pay frequent viſits to, on account of the abſolute want of free air: debarred in a great degree from the light, of which the Intermediate Well would at that depth afford but a very ſcanty meaſure. The Warehouſes under the Lodge would likewiſe ſuffer in point of ventilation, by being deprived of the draught which might be occaſionally made by throwing open the windows of the rooms under the Cells, at the ſame time with the doors opening from them into the Intermediate Area.

In the ſecond caſe there would be no place for lighting fires under the Cells: no place for Warehouſes any where: no means of conveying the Priſoners into the Yards, without giving them the faculty of promiſcuous intercourſe, by carrying them in their paſſage to and from their Staircaſes abreaſt of every Cell in the lowermoſt ſtory of Cells. There would be no Diametrical Paſſage: no means of conveying bulky articles into the Cells and Store-rooms over head, through the Intermediate Area: and that moſt indiſpenſible of all apartments, that vital part of the whole eſtabliſhment, the Inſpector's Lodge, would be cut to pieces and deſtroyed.

In

In the third caſe, which is the leaſt unfavourable one, the ſecond and fourth, of the above advantages, as already mentioned, would be ſacrificed, as alſo the third: 8 feet would be added to an aſcent already greater than could be wiſhed: and no advantage worth mentioning would be gained*.

* The quantity of building would be the ſame: and the ſaving of the ſmall expence of digging would be at leaſt counterbalanced by the additional expence of ſcaffolding and workmen's loſs of time in aſcending and deſcending. The only ſaving would be that of the ſunk wall of 9 feet high for the ſupport of the ground: a purpoſe for which the ſlighteſt thickneſs of walling would be ſufficient.

§ 18. *WINDOWS*

§ 18. *WINDOWS*

Reaching low and Glazed; inſtead of high up and Open.

BEING informed that in a building of this height, and conſequently of this thickneſs, glaſs would not coſt more than wall, my inſtructions to the Architect were, *Give me as much window as poſſible:* provided they are *not brought down ſo low as to render it too cold.* In conſequence, I have two Windows in each Cell: each 4 feet wide and 5 feet high.

It was Mr. Howard that firſt conceived the prevailing antipathy to glaſs: it admits proſpect and it excludes air. Proſpects ſeduce the indolent from their work: air is neceſſary to life. On any other than the Panopticon plan the antipathy may have ſome reaſon on its ſide: on this plan it would have none. Blinds there are of different ſorts which would admit air, without admitting proſpect: Glazed ſaſhes when open will admit air. But blinds, as ſoon as the Inſpector's back was turned, would be put aſide or deſtroyed: and windows would

would be ſhut: for the moſt ignorant feel the coldneſs of freſh air: and the learned only underſtand the neceſſity of it to health and life.—True: but in a Panopticon the Inſpector's back is never turned. In this point, as in others, who will offend where concealment is impoſſible?

In Mr. Howard's plan obſerve what is paid for ſhutting out proſpects. The tall muſt be kept from idling as well as the ſhort: and a tall man may make himſelf ſtill taller by mounting on his bed or ſtanding on tiptoe. Therefore windows muſt not begin lower than ſeven feet from the floor. But above this ſeven feet there muſt be a moderate ſpace for a hole in the wall called a *Window*: partly for this reaſon, and partly to make ſure of ſufficient height of ceiling, a Cell muſt be at leaſt ten feet high in the inſide. Such accordingly is the conſtruction, and ſuch the height of the Cells at Wymondham.*

To what climate is this ſuited? To the Eaſt or Weſt Indies: perhaps to ſome part of Italy: certainly not to any part of our three kingdoms. To what employments? To laborious employments, to employments that are to be carried on out of doors: to few that in ſuch a place can be carried on

* See Sir T. Beevor's Letters in Annual Regiſter for 1786. Letter III.

on within doors: to few indeed that can be termed ſedentary ones. What weaver, what ſpinner, what ſhoemaker, what taylor, what coach-maker, can work with drenched or frozen hands?

To mitigate the cold, and to exclude ſnow and rain, Mr. Howard allows a wooden ſhutter. But to do this ſuch a ſhutter muſt exclude light. What is the wretched ſolitary to do *then?* creep into his bed, or ſit down and pine in forced and uſeleſs indolence.

Mr. Howard with all this allows no firing. One would think from him there were no winter.

The thicker walls are, and the higher above the floor, holes in the wall inſtead of Windows are, the better they ſerve to keep out cold and rain: hence another reaſon for piling bricks upon bricks, and giving rooms in priſons the height of thoſe in palaces.

In rooms that have no light that is not three or four feet above the eye, weaving can ſcarcely be carried on: from ſuch rooms that profitable employment, that quiet employment, in other reſpects ſo well ſuited to an eſtabliſhment of this kind, is therefore in all its infinity of branches peremptorily excluded. For this therefore among other reaſons

reaſons there muſt be other places for working in. Accordingly at Wymondham for 50 feet 4 by 14: 8 of Cells, you have on one part 20: 6 by 10 feet of work-room*, and in another part a work-room of the ſame dimenſions for only 29 feet 4 by 14 feet 8 of Cells.†

At Wymondham theſe holes are guarded each of them inſide and out by a double grating: a ſingle one under the eye of an Inſpector is enough for me. Were a priſoner to elude his eye, (though how he is even by night to elude the eye of a watchman, conſtantly patrolling, I do not know) and get through this grating, (though how a man is to force iron bars without tools I am equally at a loſs to conceive) where will he find himſelf?—In the Yard?——No: but in a Well, in which he has a wall of 13 feet high to climb, as we ſhall ſee, ere he can reach the Yards. And were he over this wall where would he be then? In a ſpace incloſed by another high wall, with three centinels, in an incloſed walk, patrolling on the other ſide.

So far from there being any need of double gratings, the ſingle grating need not have croſs bars. It is not neceſſary it ſhould be capable of reſiſting

* Viz. a little leſs than one third addition.
† Viz. a little leſs than one half of addition.

reſiſting either long continued attempts, or violent ones.*

If any where in any particular pile of Cells any unguarded circumſtance in the conſtruction afforded the means of deſcent otherwiſe than by climbing down inſtead of dropping, advantage could not be taken of the weakneſs from any other pile in the circuit: in the polygonal form the projecting angles rendering it impoſſible to climb horizontally on the outſide, from a window of any Cell to any window of the Cell contiguous on either ſide.

It

* There would be an advantage in placing it as near to the outſide of the wall, and by that means as far from the inſide of the Cell, as it can be conſiſtently with ſtrength: that is, ſo as not to be liable to be thrown down by a puſh, together with the brickwork or ſtone in which it is bedded. Why? Becauſe by this means ſo much room may be gained to the Cells: the pier under each window forming a kind of dreſſer anſwering the purpoſe of a table.

Above the third ſtory of Cells bars can hardly be deemed neceſſary. The window of the loweſt being 10½ above the ſunken External Area, the following table ſhews the heights from which a fugitive would have to drop from the reſpective windows upon a ſtone pavement: it being taken for granted that the Cell affords neither a rope, nor materials of which a rope could be made in the compaſs of a night, by perſons expoſed occaſionally at leaſt, if not conſtantly, to the eyes of a patrolling watchman.

		f.	*in.*
Lower ſtory	——	10	6
Second ſtory	——	19	6
Third ſtory	——	28	6
Fourth ſtory	——	37	6
Fifth ſtory	——	46	6
Sixth ſtory	——	55	6

If faſtened up in two places on each ſide, and in the middle at top and bottom, the gratings may want about 7 inches of reaching the brick-work at bottom, and about ten inches of reaching that at top: eſpecially if they terminate at top and bottom; not in an horizontal bar, but in a row of perpendicular ſpikes: by this means little more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height of grating will ſerve for a Window 5 feet in height: and in width little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of grating will ſerve for 4 feet.

Among the offenders who are liable to be conſigned to theſe ſcenes of puniſhment, it is but too common to ſee boys of little more than ten years of age. A thin perſon, boy or man, can generally get his body through, wherever he can paſs his head: that is, if not hindered by the breadth of his body, he will not be by the thickneſs. But a perſon cannot preſs againſt the point of a ſpike as he could againſt a bar. From theſe *data* gratings might be formed requiring a much leſs quantity of materials than what is commonly employed, yet of ſufficient ſtrength for the preſent purpoſe.

§ 19. *MATERIALS.*

Arched Work—Much Iron—Plaiſter Floors.

THE peculiarities of the preſent plan are not confined to the head of conſtruction: they extend in ſome degree to the *materials*. The abundant uſe made of *iron* will hardly fail to be obſerved.

In preferring brick or ſtone-work to wood, and in conſeqnence arches to other partitions, it does no more than follow the plans already in vogue. Such a mode of conſtruction is more particularly neceſſary in a Panopticon than in a building of perhaps any other form. The circumſtance that renders it ſo peculiarly favourable to ventilation, renders it of courſe equally expoſed, if made of combuſtible materials, to accidents from fire. Were a fire to begin any where, eſpecially towards the center, it would ſpread all round, the wind would pour in from all quarters, the whole would be preſently in a blaze: and the priſoners, being locked up in their Cells, and even were their Cells open, deprived of all exit except through one or two narrow paſſages, would be burnt or ſuffocated before any aſſiſtance could be applied.

This,

This at leaſt would be the caſe were it not for the care taken to keep accumulated a large fund of water in the ciſtern at the top of the building, ready to be poured in whenever and wherever there may be occaſion for it. But notwithſtanding this aſſiſtance, and the great ſecurity againſt all ſuch accidents afforded by the circumſtance of unremitted inſpection, as a building of this ſort is deſigned for duration, and the difference in point of expence need not be conſiderable, it ſeems beſt to be on the ſafe ſide.*

The great uſe here propoſed to be made of iron has been made on different occaſions with a view to different advantages. Sometimes to admit air, ſometimes to ſave room, ſometimes for the ſake of ſtrength. In all inſtances it has the advantage of being peculiarly impregnable to putrid contagion: even plaiſter, brick and ſtone not being in this reſpect altogether above reproach. Hence the great ſtreſs laid on frequent white-waſhing, wherever any of the three latter materials are employed.

It

* In a Panopticon which required apartments of greater width than could be conveniently given to arches, ſome of the other modes of ſecuring buildings againſt fire might be adopted: ſuch as that of ſtopping the draught of air by iron plates, upon Mr. Hartley's plan: or by ſimple plaiſtering, upon Earl Stanhope's. Such ſuperior width might be neceſſary in ſome manufactories: nor would it be incongruous to the object of the inſtitution, where ſeclufion was out of the queſtion, as in free Manufactories and Poor-houſes.

It is partly on account of the admiſſion it gives to air, that I prefer it for both the Priſoner's Stair-caſes, and for all their Galleries. In arched Galleries of brick or ſtone, beſides that they would take up room, the air might be apt to ſtagnate. Subſtituting open-work to ſuch cloſe materials adds in effect ſo much in width to the Annular Well. The interſtices between the bars inſtead of forming an obſtruction to a current of air, ſerve rather to accelerate it.

It was the conſideration of the little room taken up by this material that ſuggeſted it to me as peculiarly well adapted to the purpoſe of affording ſupports to the Chapel. Brick pillars, of the thickneſs neceſſary to ſupport ſo lofty a building, would afford a very material obſtruction to the voice in its paſſage from the Miniſter to the Priſoners, when ſtationed in their Cells, or in the Galleries before their Cells. It is on the ſame conſideration likewiſe that I propoſe to make conſiderable uſe of it in the conſtruction of the Inſpection-Galleries. It is to obtain both theſe advantages that I make uſe of no other material for one entire boundary (viz. the interior one oppoſite the windows) of every Cell.

To obtain that ſort of ſtrength which conſiſts in inflexibility, with leſs unwieldineſs and at a leſs expence

expence of materials, it occurred to me to make the pillars hollow. Being of iron, they may thus be made not only to take up beyond compariſon leſs room, but even to poſſeſs greater ſtrength, even when hollowed to ſuch a degree as not to exceed brick or ſtone in weight. It occurred to me that iron was caſt in large maſſes for water-pipes. Upon enquiry at a great foundery where it is caſt for ſuch purpoſes, I learnt that in that manufactory it could be caſt hollow for a length of 12 feet, but no more. Upon conſulting with my profeſſional adviſer, I was informed that that length could be made to ſuffice: and it occurred to him that of the eight ſupports which would be a ſufficient number for ſuch a building, ſome might be made to anſwer the purpoſe of water-pipes for conveying the water from the roof: and to me that others of them might be made to ſerve for chimneys: articles for which it might otherwiſe be not altogether eaſy in a building of ſo peculiar a conſtruction to find a convenient place.

In point of economy I hope to find this uſeful material not more expenſive, but rather leſs ſo than the quantity of ſtone or brick-work that would be requiſite to anſwer the ſame purpoſe*. Since caſt-iron, and in moſt inſtances, even that not

* In Hughes's Riding Amphitreatre, near London, the ſupports, I am told, are of iron inverted.

not of the fineſt quality, would anſwer as well as hammered with half the expence.

It is at the recommendation of the ſame intelligent artiſt that I adopt thoſe called ſtucco or *plaiſter floors*, in preference to any other: and this for a variety of reaſons.

1. They are incombuſtible. In this reſpect they have the advantage of wooden floors.

2. They take up very little room. The thickneſs of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch over the brick-work at the crown is ſufficient. In this point they have the advantage over all other floors, and moſt of all over wood, which beſides boards require joiſts to lay them on.

3. They are uniform without crevices or interſtices. In this reſpect they have alſo the advantage over all other floors: in the higheſt degree over brick, then over wood, and even over ſtone. The inconvenience of crevices and interſtices, as well remarked by Mr. Howard, is to harbour dirt, and occaſionally putreſcent matter, capable of fouling the air, and affording ill ſcents.

4. They are cheap. When thus thinly laid, much cheaper than wood, or ſtone, or even than any choice kind of brick, ſuch as clinkers: and

full

full as cheap as any tiling that would be proper for the purpoſe.

5. They are, it is true, liable to crack: eſpecially on the firſt ſettling of the building. On the other hand, if a crack takes place, they are eaſily and effectually repaired.

Mr. Howard lays great ſtreſs on the unwholeſomeneſs of ſuch floors, as by their roughneſs, ſuch as unplaned boards, or by numerous and wide interſtices, are apt to harbour putreſcent matter: but I know not that he any where recommends plaiſter floors, which are freer than any ordinary floors from that inconvenience.

§ 20. *OUTLETS,*

§ 20. *OUTLETS*,

Including Airing-Yards.

ARE *Airing-Yards* to be looked upon as a neceſſary appendage to the building? — If ſo, what *extent* ought to be given to them? — Ought any and what *diviſions* to be made in them correſponding to ſo many diviſions among the priſoners? In In what manner may the influence of the inſpection-principle be extended to them to the beſt advantage?—The anſwers to theſe queſtions will depend partly upon the general plan of management in view, partly upon local circumſtances.

Of theſe points the firſt and third are conſidered under the head of management: * and the reſult is, that Airing-Yards to be uſed on working-days are not eſſential to the eſtabliſhment: but that for Sunday's uſe they would be at leaſt convenient: that if both ſexes are admitted, one diviſion, and conſequently two ſeparate yards are indiſpenſable: but that, as between priſoners of the ſame ſex, the ſame advantage to be gained by any further diviſion ſeems hardly decided enough to warrant the expence †.

Whatever

* See the ſections on *Employment*, *Airing*, and *Schooling*.

† The numerous Yards in Plate III. are given only by way of illuſtration, and to ſhew upon what principle the topographical diviſion, were it to be judged neceſſary, might be performed to moſt advantage.

Whatever be the extent of the Airing-ground, and whatever the number of diviſions made in it, two erections muſt at any rate be made in it, in order to extend to theſe exterior appendages the all-vivifying influence of the commanding principle: 1. A *Look-out* or *Exterior Inſpection-Lodge*: 2. A line of communication for Priſoners as well as Inſpectors, between this Look-out and the building. Let the Look-out then be conſidered as occupying the center of a circle: of this circle the line of communication forms one radius: from the ſame center may be projected as *co-radii* walls in any number correſponding to the number of diviſions pitched upon *. See plate III.

In ſection 16 we left the line of communication at the ſpot at which, having cleared the building, it cuts acroſs the external Annular Area. But at this ſpot it is conſiderably below the level of the ground in the yards through which it leads. The

 ſurface

* In the magazine of expedients the moſt ſimple is ſeldom that which firſt preſents itſelf to our ſearch. In the firſt haſty deſign, as ſketched out in the Letters, it was by a ſurrounding Gallery that the influence of the inſpection principle was to have been extended to uncovered Areas: and this Gallery was to have been attached to the ſurrounding wall. The advantages of centrality were thus thrown away without neceſſity, and without any advantage in return. In point of expence the diſadvantage might be more, and could not be leſs, than in the proportion of a circumference to a ſemi-diameter—about ſix to one: and the Galleries would have diminiſhed in effect, to the amount of their height, the height of the wall to which they were attached.

ſurface of the ground I ſuppoſe exactly on a level with the floor of the lowermoſt ſtory of Cells: which floor is 7 : 6 above the level of the Intermediate Area. The floor of the priſoners' paſſages, being 10 inches below the level of that Area, has 8 : 4 to riſe before it comes to a level with the ſurface of the ground. That of the Inſpector's paſſage, being 5 inches above the level of the ſame Area, has conſequently but 7 : 1 to riſe before it comes to a level with the ground. But in the ſtraits under the Arch we gave the Inſpector the advantage in point of ground over the priſoners to the amount of 1 : 3 : and for this advantage there is the ſame occaſion in one part of the line of communication as in another. Adding therefore this riſe to that of 7 : 1 which the floor of the Inſpector's paſſage has to make in order to reach the level of the ground, we have 8 : 4, which is the ſame riſe as that given to the Priſoners' paſſages. In this way the two floors preſerve their paralleliſm during the whole of their courſe.

The particulars of this courſe may be thus made out——

Priſoners' paſſage on each ſide—Lengths—

	f.	*in.*
Exterior landing-place from the outſide of the wall of the building to the commencement of the flight of ſteps which may be called the *Priſoners' Riſing-ſtairs*	2	0

Priſoners'

Priſoners' emerging or riſing ſtairs, from the exterior landing-place to the *Priſoners' Bridge* — — 8 4

Priſoners' Bridge from the Priſoners' riſing ſteps to the *Priſoners'-Lanes*, running parallel to the Inſpector's *Covered-way*, on the ſurface of the ground through the yards — — 1 8

Underneath this flight of ſteps there is ample room left in the exterior Annular Area as well for paſſing as for conveying goods. Before it has advanced in length to within four feet of the wall bounding the External Area, it is more than 6 feet above the level of that Area in that part: and at the ſurrounding wall, 9 feet *.

Inſpector's Paſſage between the Priſoners' paſſages —Lengths—

The ſame as above: the difference, which is only in point of level, being the ſame throughout, except that in this paſſage the flight of ſteps gaining the level to which they lead a little earlier than in the Priſoners' paſſage, the *Inſpector's-Bridge* † is a few inches longer than that of the Priſoners.

As

* This comes from the pavement of the Exterior Area being ſunk in that part 1: 6 below the level of the Internal.

† To diſtinguiſh it from that within the building, I call this the *Inſpector's Outer Bridge*.

As to the floor of the Priſoners' Riſing-ſtairs, iron ſeems preferable, partly for the reaſons which plead in general in favour of that material, partly on account of the ſmall degree of thickneſs it requires. A wooden floor, or a brick floor ſupported upon an arch, might reduce the height above the floor of the Exterior Well to ſuch a degree, as to make it neceſſary either to ſink the floor of the Well in that part ſtill more, or to increaſe the width *.

From their emerſion out of the building the three paſſages ſhould be covered through the whole length of their courſe acroſs the External Area: that of the

* The roof of the line of communication, as it emerges from the building, affords a landing place to the windows of the Cells immediately above, by which the priſoners, could they get out of the windows, might at night-time find their way into the Yards, and be ſo far on their way to an eſcape. To obviate this danger, it is evident that the gratings to thoſe windows ought to be conſtructed with a degree of caution, which would not be equally neceſſary in any other part of the circuit.

It would be tedious to particularize in this manner every little weak ſpot which the details of ſuch a building may diſcloſe. Wherever they preſent themſelves, the weakneſs will not be more obvious than the means of remedying it.

The Cell immediately over the Straits loſes, it will be obſerved, a conſiderable ſhare of its light, partly by means of the Inſpector's Bridge within ſide the building, partly by means of the whole line of communication on the outſide. Many employments might be mentioned for which the degree of light remaining after theſe defalcations, would probably be inſufficient: but as employments are not wanting for which it would certainly be ſufficient, the deficiency affords no reaſon for conſidering this Cell as loſt to the purpoſe of habitation.

the Inſpector, for the ſake of obſcurity, as well as for the ſake of protection in bad weather: the two Priſoners' paſſages on each ſide, partly for the latter reaſon, but principally to cut off converſe with the Cells immediately above: for which reaſon they muſt alſo have a back reaching up all the way to the roof, ſo as to form a compleat caſe.

When the Priſoners have got the length of the Lanes, or of the yards on each ſide, that is at the leaſt near 13 feet diſtance from the building, the interception of converſe muſt, as it ſafely may, be truſted to the expedients employed for preventing thoſe in the Cells from looking out of their windows.

When the Priſoners are a few feet advanced beyond the External Area, they come to a *Door*, which lets out upon the open ground ſuch of them as belong to the two yards immediately contiguous on each ſide: ſince it would be uſeleſs to carry them on to the Look-out, only to return them from thence into thoſe yards. If there are no more diviſions, no more yards, than theſe two, here the Priſoners' Lanes terminate: if there are other yards the lanes lead on till they terminate in the common Central Yard encompaſſing the Look-out. The Inſpector at any rate has his door correſponding in ſituation to thoſe juſt mentioned.

The

The *Central-yard* is a circular or rather Annular Yard, encompaſſing the Look-out. It ſerves for the diſcharge of the different claſſes of perſons into their reſpective yards. That the individuals thus meant to be kept ſeparate may not have it in their power to ſtraggle into the Central Yard and there meet the entrances into their ſeveral yards are cloſed by gates or doors. Leſt by a mutual approach towards their reſpective doors, they ſhould obtain an opportunity of converſe, the doors are placed, not in the circumference where the walls terminate, but in a ſet of ſhort Partition-walls joining the reſpective walls at a little diſtance from the ends: the intermediate portion anſwering the purpoſes of the Protracted Partitions ſpoken of in Letter II. In the firſt rough ſketch of the building. A wall, carried through the Central Yard ſo as to join the Look-out, perfects the ſeparation between the male and female ſide.*

Near to the laterel doors opening from the Covered way on each ſide, will be the ſituations for the *Airing-Wheels*:† the numbers and exact ſituations of which will depend on local circumſtances, and on the details of the plan of management purſued.

Hereabouts

* N. B. This protracted ſeparation-wall is not repreſented in the Draught.

† See the Section on *Airing*.

Hereabouts too might be the *Temperate Baths*, or *Bathing Baſons*, in which Priſoners might at ſtated hours be obliged to waſh themſelves. By means of a ſlight awning theſe baths might eaſily be concealed from the view of the Priſoners in the building, while they were fully expoſed to the obſervation of an Inſpector, (or according to the ſex an Inſpectrix) from the Look-out.

Made long rather than circular, they would be the better adapted to the purpoſe of enforcing ſuch a continuance in this ſtate of diſcipline as ſhould be deemed expedient. The Priſoner being required to paſs through from one end to the other, the number of traverſes would thus afford as exact a meaſure as could be wiſhed for, of the degree of diſcipline to which it were propoſed to the ſubject him.

Of the conſtruction of the *Look-out* it ſeems hardly neceſſary to attempt a minute deſcription, It ſhould be polygonal, that form being cheaper than the circular. It might be an octagon: or, were the number of the Airing-yards definitively fixed, the number of its ſides might be the ſame with that of the Yards, the walls of thoſe diviſions correſponding to the angles of the building. The fitteſt form and ſize for it would vary according to local circumſtances and the plan of management.

The

The precautions relative to the *thorough light* need not here be ſo ſtrict as in the priſon, the greater diſtance rendering the figure when obſcured by blinds more difficultly diſcernible: and the obſcurity would be farther favoured by heightening the elevation. Experiment would eaſily ſhow what ſort and thickneſs of blind was beſt adapted to the purpoſe. If a ſtrict inſpection be required, the Inſpection-Lantern already deſcribed would furniſh a proper model: if a looſer were deemed ſufficient, a room employed as a work-ſhop in ſome ſedentary trade, ſuch as that of a taylor or ſhoe-maker, might anſwer the purpoſe. In the capacity of apprentices or journeymen, he might have a few of the moſt orderly and truſt worthy among the Priſoners. On working days, according to the plan of management here propoſed, he would have nobody to inſpect but ſuch of the Priſoners as were occupied for the time being in walking in the wheels: at that time he would of courſe front that way as he ſat, and a caſual glance ſtolen now and then from his work would anſwer every purpoſe. It is on Sundays, and on Sundays alone, that the Priſoners in general would be at certain hours in the yards: and during thoſe periods he might give his whole time and attention to the buſineſs of Inſpection, as it would then be his only occupation.

A male and female Inſpector might here alſo be ſtationed under one roof: whoſe inſpection might, by

by the means explained in another place, be confined to their reſpective diviſions. This junction and ſeparation would of courſe be neceſſary, if a bath for females were placed near the Walking-wheel on that ſide.

As to the degree of ſpaciouſneſs to be given to the Yards—In a general ſketch which has no individual object in view, to ſpecify dimenſions will be ſeen to be impoſſible: principles with illuſtrations are the utmoſt that can be expected.

The objects to be attended to are, on the one ſide, *room* and *ventilation*: on the other *facility* of *inſpection*, and *cheapneſs*.

To eſtimate what may be neceſſary for room, it would be neceſſary firſt to ſettle the operations that are to be carried on in the Yards, and the articles that are to be placed in them: Such are,

1. Airing-wheels: enough for ſupplying water to the building. See ſection on *Airing*.

2. Additional number of Airing-wheels: in the whole, a wheel, (ſay) to every 18 perſons, or a proportionable number of double, treble, or quadruple wheels. I call the wheel a ſiingle, double, treble one, &c. with reference to the number of perſons that are to be ſet to walk in it at once.

3. Machines to be kept in motion by ſuch ſupernumerary Airing-wheels.

4. Bathing-baſons, one or two according to the ſexes.

5. Open ſchools, for Sunday's ſchooling. See the ſection on *Schooling*.

6. Walking or marching-parade for Sunday's exerciſe.

As to ventilation, though a diſtant object, it is one that will hardly require a diſtinct proviſion. A ſpace that affords room enough for the walking-parade can ſcarcely be deficient in point of aireneſs.

In ventilation much depends upon the form of the ground. A declivity is in this point of view preferable by far to a dead flat. Place the building upon a riſing ground, the wall though a high one may be but little or not at all higher than the ſurface of the ground is for ſome diſtance round the building. So far as this is the caſe, ſo far the walls afford no obſtruction at all to the current of air.

But even in a dead flat, there ſeems little neceſſity for beſtowing any expence, in giving on this ſcore any addition to the quantity of ſpace abſolutely neceſſary for the marching exerciſe above alluded to.

to. Noxious trades out of the queſtion, the only imaginable ſources of contamination to which the air is expoſed are *putridity* and *reſpiration*. Againſt the former, ſufficient ſecurity may be afforded by the diſcipline of the priſon: no hogs; no poultry; no dunghill; no open drain; no ſtagnant water. As to mere reſpiration, it can ſcarcely be conſidered as capable of producing the effect to a degree worth notice, in a place ever ſo little wider than a water-well, if open to the ſky.

As to facility of inſpection, it is obvious that the longer you make your Airing-yard, the leſs diſtinct the view which the Inſpector will have of a Priſoner at the further end of it. But the conſideration of the expence will be ſufficient to put a ſtop to the extenſion of this ſpace, long enough before, it has acquired length ſufficient to prejudice the view.

In ſpeaking of the *expence*, I do not mean that of the ground: for that, every where but in a town, will be of little moment: but the expence of the walls. I ſpeak not merely of the ſurrounding wall: for, whatever be the height of that wall, the ſeparation-walls, if there are any, cannot, as we ſhall ſee, have leſs. For the ſurrounding wall, according to the common plans at leaſt, no ordinary height will ſuffice. But, by doubling the height of

of your wall, you much more than double the expence: ſince if you would have it ſtand, you muſt give it a proportionable increaſe of thickneſs.

The height of the ſeparation-walls I have ſaid, muſt not be leſs than that of the ſurrounding-wall—why? becauſe if the former join on to the latter, they muſt be of the ſame height, or whatever height is given to the ſurrounding wall is ſo much thrown away. The attempt, if any, will of courſe be made at that part where the wall is loweſt, which will ſerve as a ſtep to any part which riſes above it. Let a wall of 12 feet, be joined another of 6 feet: what is the obſtacle to be ſurmounted? Not one wall of 12 feet, but two walls of 6 feet each. In fortification, the ſtrength of the whole is to be computed, not from the ſtrength of the ſtrongeſt part, but from that of the weakeſt.

That the ſeparation-walls ſhould join the ſurrounding-wall, is not indeed abſolutely neceſſary: but whether the diſcontinuance could in any inſtance be made productive of any ſaving upon the whole, ſeems rather queſtionable. They may indeed be left ſhort of it to a certain diſtance: the gap being ſupplied by a ditch: to which the perſons meant to be ſeparated on each ſide, may be prevented from approaching near enough for the purpoſe of converſe, by a palliſade, which may be a very ſlight

one

one, being intended rather to mark tranſgreſſion than to prevent it. In the day time there will be no poſſibility of approaching the ditch without detection, ſince it will be full in view: at night there will be no motive, as there will be no perſons on the other ſide to hold converſe with—no Priſoners in the yards. The ditch itſelf need not be continued far on each ſide of the wall: but the palliſade muſt be continued all along: for if it were to terminate any where it would be uſeleſs, and if it were to join the wall any where it would take ſo much from the height. But the palliſade however ſlight would coſt ſomething: and, what is more material, the ſpace between that and the wall would be ſo much ſacrificed: and the greater the ſpace, the more extenſive, and conſequently more expenſive, muſt be the wall. If therefore the ſurrounding wall ſhould not riſe much above the height, which for the purpoſe of preventing converſe it would be neceſſary to give to the ſeparation-walls, reducing the height of the latter by the help of the above expedient would not be worth the while.

But although no ſaving ſhould be to be made in the height of the ſeparation-walls, this is not the caſe with regard to ſuch part of the general ſurrounding wall as is not acceſſible to the priſoners. What part that may be will be immediately conceived by turning to the Draught.—See Plate III.

In

In a line with the Projecting front, continue the wall of the building on each ſide till meets the two lateral of the four ſurrounding walls. To this wall, and to every wall that is behind it, muſt be given the ſame extra height, whatever that be. But, to whatever walling there is *before* it, no greater height need be given, than if there were no ſuch thing as a priſon in the caſe.

Thus much, ſuppoſing the neceſſity of high walls and multiplied diviſions. But, if my ideas be juſt, both thoſe articles of expence may be ſaved: the former, by the mechanical regularity of the airing diſcipline:—See the ſection on *Airing*.—the other, by the mode of guarding.—See the next ſection.*

The

* It may be thought, that the Walls here ſpoken of as not requiring any extra height might be omitted altogether. But, beſides that they will be convenient for the incloſing of offices and officer's gardens, they are eſſential to the plan of guarding. For on conſidering the centinel's paths, it will be eaſily ſeen that it is neceſſary they ſhould be regular, and that one of them ſhould paſs by the Approach. Add to this that the contrivance of the Approach ſuppoſes a wall all round, to ſerve as a barrier againſt a hoſtile mob.

One Wall indeed, which really is not only unneceſſary but prejudicial, may be diſcovered on the Draught: into which it was inſerted without ſpecial inſtructions, as a thing of courſe, and ſuffered to continue through inadvertence.

It is that which runs parallel to, and between, the wall through which the entrance is cut, and that which forms on each ſide a continuation of the Projecting Front. A fence in that part is indeed neceſſary: but inſtead of a cloſe wall it ought to be an open palliſade.

The

The leſs the ſpace is between the Look-out and that one of the four ſurrounding walls that runs at right angles to the direction of the Covered way, the nearer the two radii drawn towards the ends of ſuch a wall will of courſe approach to the parallelism. Direct them ſo as to terminate, not in the oppoſite wall, but in the two lateral walls that join it at right angles, and you have a long ſpace, which without departing from the inſpection principle might, if the employment preſented any adequate advantage, be converted into a *Rope-yard*.

Why introduce here the mention of Rope-making? Is it that I myſelf have any predilection for that buſineſs? By no means: but others it ſeems have. My firſt care is on every occaſion to point out that courſe which to me appears the beſt: my next is to make the beſt of whatever may chance to be preferred by thoſe whoſe province it is to chooſe. To a gentleman whoſe information and advice upon this occaſion particular attention appears to have been paid by a Committee of the Houſe of Commons,* to this gentleman it occurred that rope-making was of all trades one of the beſt adapted to to the economy of a Penitentiary-Houſe. Of the many

The former, in contradiſtinction to the latter, weakens the *command* of the building over the ſpace incloſed, and that as well in a military ſenſe, as in point of inſpective force. Suppoſe a mob to have maſtered the wall on either ſide the entrance, an open palliſade expoſes them to the ground-floor of the building, whereas a cloſe wall covers them.

* See Report of the Felon Committee printed in 1779.

many advantageous properties he attributes to it a conſiderable number may, for ought I know, belong to it without diſpute. But in one inſtance at leaſt, his zeal has got the better of his recollection. In ropemaking " no implement employed that can contribute to eſcapes?"—To a ſeaman a rope is itſelf a Staircaſe. Will any charitable hand take charge of it on the other ſide of the wall? over goes the rope one inſtant——the next, over goes the ſailor.* And can no other hand ſupport itſelf by a rope? Was La Tude a ſeaman? Will the walls of a Penitentiary-Houſe be like the walls of the Baſtile?—A vigorous arm will ſupply the place of practice. I ſpeak but what I have ſeen.

Rope-making is perhaps of all trades known that which takes up the greateſt ſpace. Elſewhere it requires no walls: but here it muſt not only have walls, but thoſe too of an extra height and thickneſs.

With all this, ſhould any rope-making legiſlator, or any legiſlator's rope-making friend, make a point of it, in a Panopticon Penitentiary-Houſe, I would even admit a ropery. But in what character? as one of the moſt——no: but as one of the leaſt promiſing of all trades. I would admit it—not certainly

* Even without an aſſociate, a rope, by the help of a brickbat faſtened to the end of it, will, I have been aſſured, carry a man over a wall.

tainly in the view of favouring, but rather of trying the ſtrength and temper, and diſplaying the excellence of my inſtrument. I would take my razor and hack ſtones with it: not as thinking ſtone-cutting the fitteſt employment for razors in general, but in the way of bravado, to ſhew that my razor can perform what in ancient lore ſtands recorded as a miracle for razors. I would provide part of my priſoners with this gentleman's ropes, I would arm another part with another gentleman's ſledge-hammers, a third part with another gentleman's caſt iron—a fourth with a fourth gentleman's ſaws, taking my chance for my felons ſerving their keepers as the children of Iſrael ſerved the Ammonites.—For what?—For ſecurity ſake?—No: but juſt as I would ſet up a ſword-cutlery, or a gun manufactory with a powder-mill attached to it; if any gentleman would ſhew me ſuch a meaſure of extra-profit attached to thoſe trades, as ſhould more than compenſate the extra-riſk, and the extra-expence of guarding and inſurance.

Proteſting therefore againſt this of rope-making as one of the leaſt eligible of trades for any other priſon, I would not, by any peremptory reſolution, exclude even this from a Panopticon Penitentiary-Houſe. Let Euriſtheus ſpeak the word, and I will turn in ſerpents to my infant in its very cradle.—Why?—Is it that ſerpents are the beſt nurſes?——No: but becauſe my infant is an Hercules.

Recapitulation of the horizontal lengths of the ſeveral component parts of the line of communication between the lowermoſt Inſpection-Gallery within the building and the Look-out in the Yards.

I. *Inſpector's Paſſage.*

1. Inſpector's *Inner-Bridge* (over the Intermediate Area) — 8
2. Inſpector's *Drop* (within the circle of the Grated Paſſage) — 2
3. Inſpector's *Inner Landing-place* (within the ſame circle) — 2
4. Inſpector's *Straits* (paſſage through the ſubterraneous Arch under the Cells) 17
5. Inſpector's *Outer-Landing-place*, from the termination of the Arch to the commencement of the *Riſing Stairs* — 2
6. Inſpector's *Riſing-Stairs*, from the exterior Annular Area to a little above the level of the ground — 8
7. Inſpector's *Outer-Bridge* (over the remainder of the above Area) about — 2

41

8. Inſpector's Covered-way
9. Steps up to the Look-out

} Undeterminable depending on the magnitude of the eſtabliſhment and other local circumſtances.

II.

II. *Priſoners' Paſſages on each ſide.*

1.	Priſoners' Straits	—	—	17
2.	Priſoners' Landing-place		—	2
3.	Priſoners' Riſing-Stairs	—	—	8
4.	Priſoners' Bridge, about	—	—	2
				29

5. Priſoners' Lanes } Undeterminable, for the ſame reaſon.

The

The Figure annexed repreſents an

AIRING, OR MARCHING PARADE.

It ſerves to ſhew how a given number of Men may be aired by walking, in the leaſt poſſible ſpace, without infringement on the Plan of Separation.

		feet.
Length of the Parade, ſay — —		150
Width — — — —		96
Number of feet in each walk —	6	
Multiplied by the number of parallel walks in the above width —	6	
Gives the number of feet occupied by the walks in the above width — — —		36
Number of feet of vacant interval between walk and walk — —	12	
Multiplied by the number of intervals in the above width — —	5	
Gives the total number of feet of vacancy in the above width — — —		60
Sum of the widths of the walks added to that of the intervals gives the total width as above —		96
Number of feet of interval between line and line in the ſame walk, ſay — —		6
Number of lines capable of being contained on the above conditions in an area of the above dimenſions, in the manner repreſented in the figure — —	146	
Multiplied by the average number of men in a line — — —	3	
Gives the total number of men that may be aired by marching on a parade of the above dimenſions, without approaching nearer than as above		438

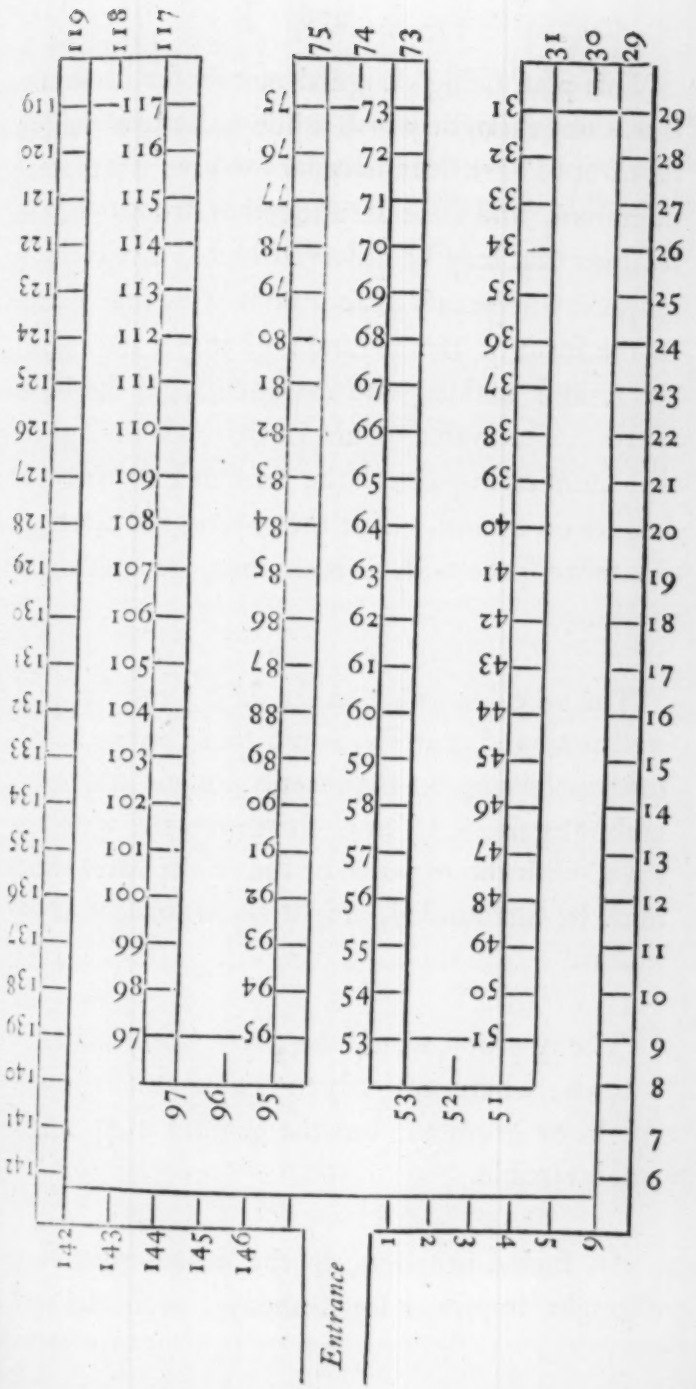
Each Cell is ſuppoſed to occupy a diſtinct line: the numbers in a line being 1, 2, 3, or 4.

The number annexed to each line ſhews the ſtation occupied by each Cell when the figure is compleated.

The lines might be marked out by double rows of clinkers: the track of each man by a ſingle row: and the walks, if neceſſary, by ſtakes and ropes.

At every turning the outermoſt man at one or other ſide turns a quarter-round, as in the military exerciſe, where his comrades on the ſame line, by a ſhort run, gain the new line. Thus the exerciſe of running is combined with that of walking.

The number annexed to each line ſhews the ſtation occupied by the inhabitants of each Cell when the figure is compleated.


Entrance

This plan being deſigned merely for illuſtration, it was not thought worth while to beſtow the pains that would have been neceſſary to give it a thorough diſcuſſion, and clear it altogether from the imperfections that may be obſerved in it. From this example it will be eaſy to accomodate the line of march to the form of the ground: giving it the radial figure, and making the entrance from the Central Yard. The walks would in that caſe diverge from one another in pairs at the fartheſt extremity, like fingers on a hand. But the greater the divergence, the more ſpace will, it is evident, be conſumed in waſte.

The wheels, which on ſix days ſerve for gain as well as air and exerciſe, would there be any objection to their ſerving on the ſeventh for air and exerciſe without gain? If not, then even the walking-parade, with the expence of the walls with which it muſt be ſurrounded, might be ſtruck out as ſuperfluous.

The queſtion would be particularly material in a town, where not only the expence of the walling might be grudged, but the ground itſelf might be unobtainable.

In ſuch a ſituation, if the wheel-exerciſe were thought improper for Sundays, even the roof of the

the building, might, if made flat on purpoſe, be made to anſwer the purpoſe of a marching parade: only in this caſe the ſpace not being ſufficient to air the whole number of priſoners at once, without breaking in upon the plan of ſeparation, the half only or the third part can partake of the exerciſe at a time.

The ſame ſituation might, with like management, be made to ſerve likewiſe for the Schools, propoſed to be held whenever weather will permit, in the open air on Sundays. See the ſection on *Schooling*.

§ 21. *APPROACH*

§ 21. *APPROACH AND FENCES.*

IN the contrivance of the Fences I had of courſe two claſſes of perſons in view: the priſoners within; and hoſtile mobs, or ſuch individuals as might be diſpoſed to form plans or join in plots for the eſcape of priſoners without. To theſe were added, in the contrivance of the Approach, the ſubordinate Keepers, as likewiſe, though with a different view, The Chapel Viſitors. While the government or coercion of the firſt three of theſe four deſcriptions of perſons was to be provided for, the accommodation of the laſt, thoſe ſtill better than gratuitous Inſpectors, who, inſtead of being paid for inſpecting, may be content to pay for it, muſt not be neglected.

The Approach, I make *one* only: a walled avenue cut through and from the ſurrounding wall to the front of the building, thrown back purpoſely to a certain diſtance: ſay, for example only, 240 feet: twice the diameter of the polygonal part of the building neglecting the Projecting Front. The aperture thus made is cloſed by a ſet of *Gates*: a ſmall one cloſe to the *Porter's Lodge*, for foot paſſengers: next to that a larger one, for carriages to go

go in at, and beyond it one of the ſame ſize as the ſecond, for carriages to return by. At the very entrance the avenue is contracted as much as it can be conſiſtently with the above-mentioned purpoſes: it grows gradually wider and wider as it approaches the building: arrived at a diſtance equal to the breadth of the Projecting front it ſtops ſhort. Conceive a ſquare having this front for one of its ſides. In the oppoſite ſide, the walls that bound the avenue terminate. In the ſame line terminate two walls or other fences, which iſſuing at right angles from the front, bound the two remaining ſides of the ſquare. The avenue, though gradually expanded from the entrance to the ſpot where it falls into the ſquare, wants on each ſide ſome feet of occupying the whole width. That interval is filled up on each ſide by a pair of *gates*, which, being of open work, afford to the building acceſs to and view of the ſpaces on each ſide the avenue; deſigned partly and principally for containing offices, and affording ſmall gardens to the officers. In the center of the ſquare ſtands a *Lamp-poſt*, or ſome ſuch object, ſerving as a direction to carriages in turning: and from this central mark to the pier between the two gates acroſs the entrance, it might perhaps be found convenient at Chapel-times to keep a ſtrained rope or chain, for the purpoſe of ſeparating the path of the returning from that of the approaching vehicles; thus obviating the con-

 fuſion

fuſion which without ſuch precaution is apt to ariſe in a throng of carriages.

The public road runs, according to local circumſtances, either in the ſame direction with the avenue; or elſe at right angles to it, and parallel to the wall cut through to form the Approach. No public highway, either carriage road or foot-path, runs near to it in any other quarter.

Parallel to the Gates, and to the extent of the Gates, the road is bounded on the other ſide by a wall, which may be called the *Protection-Wall*: and behind it a branch of the road, which may be called the *Protection-Road*.

Why only one Approach to ſo large a building?

1. For the ſake of *œconomy*:——the more Approaches the more Porters.

2. For the ſake of *ſafe-cuſtody* and *ſubordination*: the more exits the more places to watch, and the greater the danger of eſcape. And were there more exits than one, all would not be equally under the view of the Head-Governor. What if he and the next in authority under him, had each a ſeparate exit under his care?—The inſpective force would be diminiſhed by one half: on the one ſide the ſubordinate would be withdrawn from under the

the controul of his principal; on the other, the principal would loſe the aſſiſtance of the ſubordinate.

2. *Why throw the building back in this manner and place it in a receſs, rather than cloſe to the road, and flush with the ſurrounding wall?*

For *ſecurity*, and that in the firſt place againſt enterprizes from within. Suppoſe a Priſoner by permiſſion, or by negligence, got out and landed at the front of the building: on this plan what chance has he gained of an opportunity of eſcape? He is incloſed in a defile, with the building at one end and the gates that open to it on the other: expoſed on one ſide to the whole view of the front, and on the other to that of the Gate-Keeper, without whoſe concurrence the gates can afford him no exit: and the priſon habit betraying him to both. On the other hand, ſuppoſe a part of the building to have doors or windows opening to the highway: let a man but have got through any one of thoſe apertures, he finds himſelf at large. What though the part thus bordered by the road ſhould be no part of the place deſigned for Priſoners, but only of the houſe or lodging of one of the officers, the Governor for example? Such places may not be always inacceſſible to the Priſoners, at leaſt to all of them. A Priſoner may be there by permiſſion, engaged in ſome

ſome domeſtic employment: he may have ſtepped in thither on ſome pretence: he may have been let in on purpoſe by the infidelity of ſome ſervant of the houſe. Should even the Priſoners be all of one ſex, there may be ſervants of the other. Of a priſon ſo circumſtanced, where is the part that can be ſure of being always proof againſt the united aſſaults of Cupid's arrows and Danae's golden ſhower?

2. Againſt clandeſtine enterprizes from without. What enterprizes of this nature can be attempted with the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs? Without procuring the door to be opened by the Porter a man cannot paſs the gate? he is then incloſed in a defile as before, reconnoitred all the while from the Lodge at one end, and the building at the other. The Gate which lets him in, might in the act of opening it, and without any attention on the part of the Porter, ring a warning-bell proclaiming the ſtranger's entrance and approach.

3. Againſt hoſtile enterprizes by mobs. The enterprizes of mobs cannot, like the attempts of individuals, be ſudden and ſecret: they have always a known cauſe. The guards are every where upon the watch.—Is miſchief threatened? The Porter rings his bell. A centinel fires his piece. The force of the priſon is collected in the front. What mob will make any attempt againſt the gates? No

ſooner

ſooner have they begun, than they find themſelves expoſed to the fire of the whole front: that front more than twice the breath of the ſpace they occupy, and converging thither as to a point. There needs no riot-act: the *Riot-act* has been read by the firſt man who has forced himſelf within the gates. The line is compleatly drawn beyond all power of miſtake: all within it are malefactors. The avenue is no public highway. It is the private incloſure of the Keeper of the Priſon: thoſe who force themſelves within it do ſo at their peril.

In the ordinary ſtate of priſon-building, all preparations for an attack, every thing ſhort of the actual attempt, may be carried on without moleſtation under the Keeper's noſe. The rioters collect together in force, in what numbers they think proper, and with what arms they can procure. What ſhall hinder, or who ſhall ſo much as queſtion them? It is the King's highway: one man has as much right there as another. Let them have what arms they will, ſtill who ſhall queſtion them? Every man has a right to carry arms; till ſome overt act demonſtrates his intention of employing them to a forbidden purpoſe.—Obſerve now the conſequences. The walls of the Priſon are impregnable; its doors well fortified; windows looking to the highway it has none. But the Keeper's doors are like other doors: his windows, like other windows. A

bar

bar or log will force the one: a ſtone or puſh will lay open the other. Where the Keeper enters, there may the rioters enter, and there may the Priſoners get out, when they are in the Keeper's place. The cuckoo is completely hedged in, except at one place which is not thought of.

At Newgate the building, including the Keeper's houſe, runs along the public footway: and the fate of that edifice at the diſgraceful æra of 1780 diſplays the conſequence. No impediment does it preſent, natural or legal, that can hinder any ſingle man, or any body of men, from introducing their eyes or hands cloſe to the Keeper's windows. A little army may come up with clubs and iron crows to the very door ready to force it open, and till the attack is actually begun, there is neither right nor obſtacle to impede, much leſs power to hinder them.

All the other priſons in London, that I recollect, the King's bench amongſt the reſt, are in the ſame predicament. Had the contrary precaution been obſerved, the tragedy of St. George's fields would hardly have been acted. The ill-fated youth, whoſe death drew forth in its day ſuch a torrent of popular diſcontent, would not have fallen, or his fall would have been acknowledged to have been not undeſerved.

In

In a great town, the ground may not always admit of giving the remedy its full extent: though to a certain extent, and that ſufficient to give a vaſt advantage over the common plans, it might be made uſe of almoſt every where.

Even Mr. Howard's plan, though uncircumſcribed by any conſiderations of local neceſſity, even Mr. Howard's plan of perfection in the abſtract, has overlooked it. The piles of building allotted to the convicts are indeed placed all of them within, and at a diſtance from, the ſurrounding wall: but lodges for Porters, a houſe for a Chaplain, and another for a Steward or Storekeeper, form part of it. Along ſide, for any thing that appears, runs the public way: nor is there any thing to hinder a mob of rioters from forcing themſelves in at the Chaplain's and the Steward's door and windows, till the outrage is begun.

Thus it ſtands upon the face of the engraved plan. His after-thoughts, ſo far from obviating the inconvenience in queſtion, double it. His laſt opinion is in favour of "a ſpacious walk, clear of buildings, "through the centre, with three courts on each "ſide, and the Chapel and Chaplain's apartments "at the oppoſite end, facing the Governor's own apartment"*—Is the Chaplain then to have an outlet

* On Lazaretto's, p. 229.

let at his end, as well as the Governor at his? This will require another pair of Lodges (for the plan gives two) and at leaſt one other Porter. At any rate the Chaplain and his family are out of the reach of lending an inſpecting eye to obſerve the approach of thoſe who come on the deſign, or with the pretence, of viſiting the Governor, his family, or his ſervants. The inſpective force at that end is *pro-tanto* diminiſhed, by the removal of that conſtituent part of it.—What Mr. Howard's reaſons were for this change of opinion, he has not told us.

No one can be more anxious than Mr. Howard to prevent every part of the building where priſoners are lodged from having windows to the ſtreet. Why? Becauſe ſuch windows, beſides affording converſe, will let in ſpirituous liquors, not to mention implements for eſcape. Windows to the Governor's houſe, or the Chaplain's, will not indeed let in ſpirituous liquors, or any thing elſe into the priſon clandeſtinely, but they will let in armed deliverers openly where they are in force.

3. *The Avenue why contracted at the entrance?*—The narrower the entrance the leſs the expence of the gates which cloſe it, and the more perfectly it lies within the command of the Porter. At the ſpot where it reaches the building, were it no wider

than

than it is at the entrance, it would ſcarce afford turning-room for carriages, much leſs the ſtanding room which would be requiſite at church-time. Were it of leſs width than the front, ſo much of the front as was excluded, ſo much of the inſpective force which that part of the building furniſhes, would be loſt.

Of the total area incloſed by the general ſurrounding wall, the magnitude muſt of courſe depend upon a variety of circumſtances, ſome of a more general, others of a local or otherwiſe particular nature. Behind the building it will be occupied by the Priſoners' Yards, of which in the laſt ſection. In front of the building on each ſide of Approach, it will be occupied by exterior offices and officers gardens.

On the outſide all round, at a ſmall diſtance, (ſay 12 feet) from the wall, runs a ſlight *paliſade* of open work. The intermediate ſpace receives four *Centinels* whoſe paths flank and croſs one another at the ends. The walls, inſtead of forming an angle, are rounded at the junctions. The paliſade will ſerve as a fence to the grounds on the other ſide: but highways on which the public in general have a right to paſs, whether carriage-ways, or ſimple footways, are kept from approaching it as far as may be.

At two of the corners the place of the paliſade might be occupied by two *Guard-houſes*: each with two fronts to flank and command the two Centinel's walks. To one of theſe I ſhould give ſuch a ſituation and ſuch a height as to enable it to command the Airing-Yards: but at that quarter in which it would be at the greateſt diſtance from thoſe deſtined for the reception of female priſoners, if that ſex be admitted, it might have a Platform in that ſituation, and in that elevation, without having any windows either way. It might have a communication with the Airing-yards, to be made uſe of in caſe of alarm and demand of ſuccour from the Keepers in the Building or the Yards. The communication might be effected in any one of ſeveral ways: by a draw-bridge, by an underground paſſage, or by a ladder kept under lock and key: the key always in the hands of the commanding officer. To prevent converſe between the ſoldiers and the priſoners, the doors opening into the platform (for windows that way it has none) ought to be locked up, and the key kept in the ſame cuſtody. It is for this ſame reaſon that I attach it, not to the wall, but to the paliſade which is detached from the wall.

4. *Why the paliſade?*—To cut off from the public in general all facility and all pretence for approaching the wall, near enough to attack the Centinel,

tinel, to hold converſe with the priſoners in the Yards, or to plant ladders or throw over ropes to enable them to eſcape.

5. *Why of open work rather than cloſe?* a wall for inſtance, or a park-pale?—For cheapneſs:—and that nobody may approach it without being ſeen.

6. *The Centinel's walks, why croſſing and flanking each other?*—That each Centinel may have two to check him. Who in ſuch caſe would venture or offer to bribe any one of them to connive at projects of eſcape? the connivance of any *one*, or even any *two* would be unavailing.

7. *The walls, why rounded off at the meetings?* *—To avoid giving the aſſiſtance which angles afford to the operation of climbing up in the inſide. Add to which, that the greater the ſpace thus rounded off the greater the part of each Centinel's walk, which is laid open to the view of the two others.

As

* For this precaution I am indebted to Mr. Blackburn. In what inſtances, if any, he has himſelf applied it, I do not know. I took the hint from a hiſtory he uſed to tell of a man who, by the aſſiſtance of two walls meeting at a right angle, and an inſtrument of his own contrivance, uſed to convey himſelf in this way over the wall of the King's-Bench Priſon in St. George's Fields.

As to the height of the wall, and the thickneſs, which will be governed by the height, the quantum of expence neceſſary on this ſcore would depend upon the deciſion made as to the reſorting or not reſorting, to the military eſtabliſhment for a guard. With this aſſiſtance, added to that of the paliſaded walk, walls of very moderate height would be ſufficient: ſay 8 or nine feet, about 2 or 3 feet above the height of a tall man *. This height would be ſufficient to prevent any intelligible converſe between Priſoners and Centinels: forbidden converſation will not be carried on in a loud voice, in the ears and under the eyes of the ſuperiors who forbid it. Without this aſſiſtance it might be rather difficult to draw the line.

By rejecting this aſſiſtance, the requiſite quantity and expence of walling that *might* be thought requiſite, might be encreaſed in another way. The higher the wall, the more obſtructive to ventilation. The higher the wall, the more ample the ſpace that on that account it might be thought neceſſary to incloſe within it: and the greater that ſpace, the more walling it would take to incloſe it.

Did it depend upon me, though I would get a military guard if I could, yet even without ſuch aſſiſtance,

* Or would not 12 feet be deemed neceſſary? ſince one man might mount on the ſhoulders, and perhaps for a moment on the head of another.

aſſiſtance, truſting to ſo many other ſafe-guards, I think I would put up with an 8 or 9 feet wall. In the Look-out ſits conſtantly an Inſpector armed and inſtructed, and commanding all the Yards. By a bell he ſummons to his aſſiſtance at any time the whole collected force of the Priſon.

8. *To what uſe the Protection-Wall, and the Protection-Road?*——The uſe is tolerably well indicated by the name. Behind the Wall, and in the Road, in caſe of an attack by a riotuos mob upon the Gates, as many paſſengers as do not chooſe to take part in it will find ſhelter: and the attack may be oppoſed with fire arms from the building with the leſs ſcruple, as no one can ſuffer from it whoſe guilt has not made him the author of his own fate.

And would you wiſh then to ſee a perhaps well-meaning tho' culpable multitude devoted in heaps to ſlaughter?—No ſurely: though better thus than that the Priſon ſhould be deſtroyed, the Priſoners turned looſe upon ſociety, and juſtice ſtruck with impotence. But the truth is, that nothing of this ſort will happen: the more plainly impracticable you make the enterprize, the ſurer you may be that it will never be attempted. Prevention is the work of humanity. Cruelty joins with improvidence in making the inſtruments of juſtice of ſuch apparent weakneſs as to hold out invitation to a deſtroying hand.

That

This is perhaps the firſt plan of defence againſt rioters, of which the protection of the peaceable paſſenger ever made a part: the firſt in which the diſcrimination of the innocent from the guilty was ever provided for or thought of.

In the inſtance of every priſon—of every public building as yet exiſting—an attack once begun, what is the conſequence? The guilty muſt be ſuffered to perpetrate without controul their forbidden enterprize, or a continual riſk incurred by involving the innocent in their fate. What is the effect of ſtreet-firing?—A medley maſſacre of rioters and paſſengers of guilty and innocent, of men, women, and children.

The *maximum* of œconomy with regard to the figure of the ground, and thence of its ſurrounding Fences, remains yet to be ſuggeſted: and ſituations may be conceived, in which it would not be irreconcileable with convenience. The quadrangular figure is that which will naturally have firſt preſented itſelf. But three lines are enough to encloſe a ſpace. The ground *may* therefore be *triangular:* nor, if regularity, and beauty in as far as it depends upon regularity, are diſregarded, is it neceſſary that of this triangle any two ſides ſhould be equal. An equal legged-triangle with the legs longer than the baſe, is to be preferred to an equi-

lateral

lateral triangle, much more to a triangle having the angle oppoſite the baſe equal to or greater than a right one. The reaſon is, that the figure may have a ſpace running out in length, in order to afford a ſufficient length of avenue: the point or apex being cut off, in order to form the entrance.

The number of the Centinels too, if the military plan of guarding be approved of, and if the difference in point of number be an object, will in this way be reduced from four to three.

With or without a guard, the Inſpection-principle, ſeconded by other aſſiſtances, we have ſeen, or ſhall ſee, relative to the plan of management, ſuperſedes the neceſſity without detracting any thing from the ingenuity, of Mr. Blackburne's expenſive ſyſtem of moral fortification. *If a man gets to the other ſide of the wall* (ſaid he to me one day as he has ſaid to others) *it muſt be by getting either through, or under, or over it. To prevent his getting through I make it of ſtone, and of ſtones too maſſy to be diſplaced, as bricks may be, by picking. To prevent his getting under, I make a drain. As he undermines, no ſooner is he got within the Arch than out flows the water and ſpoils his mine.*—To prevent his getting over there was a ſyſtem of precautions

one

one under another too long to be repeated here.—Sound logic was here combined with admirable ingenuity: in all this there might be nothing which on certain ſuppoſition might not be neceſſary. What is that ſuppoſition?—that in ſome caſes a number of Priſoners, in others at leaſt one Priſoner, have time almoſt without ſtint to carry on their operations unobſerved. In all other modes of conſtruction, under all other ſyſtems of priſon-management, the ſuppoſition ſpeaks the truth. But under the Panopticon mode of conſtruction, under the plan of management which it ſuppoſes and provides for, is this the caſe?—exactly the reverſe. What Priſoner carries on plans of eſcape under a Keeper's eye?

In a dark night, it may be ſaid, *the benefit of the Inſpection-principle fails you.* — Yes, if there be no lamps ſufficient to light the wall: — Yes, if there be no *Watchman* patrolling in the houſe. The queſtion then lies between the expence of this ſyſtem of complicated circumvallation, and the expence of lighting, or rather the expence of providing a ſingle watchman to go the rounds. I ſay that a watchman will be ſufficient ſecurity without even lighting on purpoſe, and that in an eſtabliſhment like this a watchman need coſt nothing: ſince the people neceſſary for guarding and inſtructing by day, will be ſufficient to watch at night by turns. Even

in

in the darkeſt night and without artificial light, can a Priſoner without tools, at no more than 25 feet diſtance from the watchman, firſt force through the glaſs of a window, and then through iron bars on the other ſide? Will he hazard any ſuch attempt, when ſuppoſing him againſt all probability to ſucceed, there is ſtill a wall of 13 feet high for him to climb (I mean that which bounds the Exterior Well) and beyond that another?

To get clear altogether of the obſtruction afforded by walls to ventilation, it has been propoſed* to dig a ditch, and to ſet down the wall at the bottom of the ditch. The expedient ſeems unneceſſary, the expence of it conſiderable, and the inconvenience material and unavoidable.

The inconvenience is that whatſoever it may do with regard to ſecurity, it gives up ſecluſion. Of what breadth muſt your ditch be? — A hundred, two hundred feet would not preclude converſe with the ear: nor four hundred feet, nor a thouſand, with the eye. The grounds all round would be a continual rendezvous for the aſſociates and confederates of the Priſoners: that is, for all ſorts of malefactors. It would be a continual ſcene of plans of miſchief, and plots for eſcape. What ſhould hinder a man on the outſide from toſſing

* By the late Dr. Jebb, in a pamphlet written on purpoſe.

over a rope or a rope-ladder to a Priſoner prepared to receive it? What ſhould hinder twenty men from doing the ſame thing at the ſame time.

How is the ditch to be conſtructed? If the ſides are perpendicular, they muſt be ſupported by brick-work, or the earth will be continually waſhing and crumbling in, till it reduces the depth of your ditch, and conſequently the height of your wall, to nothing.—Are they to be thus ſupported?—Then beſides the expence of an enormous ditch, you have that of three Walls inſtead of one.—Are they to be ſloping without brick-work? The width of this enormous ditch muſt then be enormouſly encreaſed, and ſtill the obnoxious effect will be gradually produced. By the Priſoners at leaſt on their ſide, every thing will be done, that can be done, to accelerate it. Among their friends too on the outſide, to contribute a ſtone or an handful of earth will be a pious work.

At any rate you have on each ſide a receptacle for ſtagnant water.—Which would be the greater? the ſervice done to health by the ſinking of the wall, or the detriment, by the accumulation of this water?

It would be incompatible with the mode of guarding above propoſed, by Centinels incloſed in inacceſſible

inacceſſible lanes: unleſs ſtationed at ſuch diſtances as would occaſion an enormous addition to the length of their walks, and to the quantity of ground conſumed. For it would be altogether ineligible to bring the guards ſo near as to poſſeſs an eaſy intercourſe with the Priſoners.

Were it indeed worth while, the advantage in point of ventilation expected from this idea, might be obtained by a partial adoption of it, with the help of one of the precautions already indicated. It would not be neceſſary to lay the ſpace open all round: it would be ſufficient were it laid open at one end, and that end might be narrowed in the manner of the Approach as above deſcribed. But at that end the property of the ground on the other ſide to a very conſiderable diſtance would require to be attached to the eſtabliſhment: in ſuch manner that no ſtranger ſhould have it in his power to approach near enough to hold any ſort of converſe either with the Priſoners, or even with the Centinel; whoſe path muſt alſo be at ſuch a diſtance from the neareſt ſpot to which they can approach, as to prevent all converſe between him and them, in a voice too loud to eſcape the ear of the Inſpector in the Look-out*.

* Priſons are not by any means the only buildings to which this mode of exterior fortification, if it be doing juſtice to a precaution ſo ſimple and unexpenſive to ſtile it by ſo formidable a name, might be applicable with advantage.

With

With a view to *inſpection*, it might be applied to all ſuch public eſtabliſhments as on account of their deſtination, of their importance, their magnitude, and their deſtructibility, are particularly expoſed to the clandeſtine enterprizes of forcign emiſſaries: ſuch as public magazines and Dock-yards. The Approach ſhould be ſo conſtructed, and the officers' houſes and ſtations ſo diſpoſed, that every ſtrange face ſhould have the gauntelope to run as it were through all their eyes, and that any inſtance of negligence on this head on the part of any one of them, ſhould be expoſed to the obſervation of all the reſt. Had a plan like this been purſued in Plymouth Rope-yard, the ſad deſtruction to which that important magazine was devoted in 1776 by the hands of a wretched incendiary, might perhaps never have had place.

With a view to *defence againſt open hoſtility*, it might be applied not only to every priſon, but to every other building, public or private, which by the provocation it holds out to rapacity or popular antipathy, is liable to become the object of lawleſs violence. A Money-bank, a great Corn-magazine, a place of worſhip belonging to any obnoxious ſect, a new erected machine which appears to threaten a ſudden reduction in the price or the demand of any kind of labour — may afford ſo many examples. With theſe precautions Dingley's Saw-mill, for inſtance, for which the nation was charged with ſo heavy an indemnity, would probably have eſcaped.

I ſpeak not here of the mode of guarding by Centinels: a ſpecies of protection which could only be afforded to public eſtabliſhments, and to ſuch eſtabliſhments, as were of adequate importance. I ſpeak only of the mode of conſtructing the Approach: —its unity—its ſituation in a walled receſs — that receſs as deep as the ground will allow—contracted at the entrance—and commanded by as many officers' houſes and ſtations as can be brought to bear upon it — Gates of open work—and on the other ſide of the road a Protection-Road—covered by a Protection-Wall—all other roads, beſides that which the Approach opens to, kept at a diſtance.

§ 22. *MEANS OF SUPPLYING WATER.*

TWO ſources of ſupply preſent themſelves: the rain-water collected on the roof: and common water, ſuch as the ſituation furniſhes, to be forced up by the labour of the Priſoners in the Airing-wheels.

The firſt ſupply is not a conſtant one, and will go but little way towards anſwering the exigencies of ſo numerous an inhabitancy. It muſt however be carried off at any rate: and any one of the 8 iron tubes that form the ſupports of the Inſpection-Tower, will afford a channel adequate to the purpoſe. Branches from this main would ſerve to convey the water to reſervoirs in or near to the Kitchen and the Laundry on the ſunken floor.

The only combuſtible parts of the building, or rather the only parts of the building affording a few combuſtible materials, will be the Inſpection-Lodge, the Inſpection-Galleries and the Chapel-Galleries. By way of proviſion againſt ſuch accidents, a *fire-engine* ſhould be kept in a place contiguous to the Central-Area, with pipes communicating either with the reſervoirs above-mentioned,

or

or with the more copious and certain ones, which ſupply the water that is forced up by the wheels.

To receive *this* water an annular ciſtern runs all round the building. It is placed immediately under the roof, and within the outer wall. The wall affords it ſupport: the roof, a covering from duſt and any other matters that might foul the water. Under it run down in a perpendicular direction to the bottom of the building, at the places where the partition walls join the outer wall, piles of iron pipes ſerving as mains, one placed between and ſerving for, every two piles of Cells, From each of theſe mains run 12 ſhort branches with a cock to each, one to each of the twelve Cells. Of theſe mains, which for 19 Cells on a ſtory cannot be fewer than 10, ſuppoſing none to be wanting for the Dead-part, two, by the help of ſo many branches running over and acroſs the Exterior Area, will ſerve likewiſe for conveying the water up by the pumps worked by the wheels.*

Shall the whole ſupply of water be carried up to the top of the building? or ſhall the quantity required for each ſtory of Cells be carried no higher than is neceſſary to convey it to thoſe Cells?—The latter arrangement would ſave labour, but it ſeems queſtionable whether upon the whole it would be the

* To adapt them to this double purpoſe will require ſome little contrivance; but too obvious to need particularizing.

the moſt economical one. Inſtead of one ciſtern it would require ſix; each of which muſt have its ſupports running round the building: and though each would require but one ſixth part of the capacity of the general ciſtern, it would require almoſt as much workmanſhip, and much more than one ſixth, perhaps as much as $\frac{1}{2}$, of the materials.* To form a preciſe ſtatement of the comparative economy of the two plans, compute the value of labour ſaved by that which gives ſix particular ciſterns, and ſet againſt it the probable annual average of extra repairs, added to the intereſt of the extra-capital which it would require.† But a more ſimple, and what ſeems to be a deciſive conſideration, is the inſecurity that would reſult from theſe annular ciſterns running round on the outſide, one under every ſtory but the loweſt. They would be ſo many ladders to climb down by: from whence would alſo reſult the neceſſity of the further expence of having ſtrong bars to thoſe ſtories of Cells to which upon the preſent plan, as already obſerved, no ſuch guards are neceſſary.

As to the particular mode of conveying the water to the ciſtern, it is a topic I paſs over, as bearing no relation to the particular conſtruction or deſtination

* I ſay ſix: for if it did not anſwer to have ſo many as ſix, by the ſame rule it would not anſwer to have any more than one.

† There would beſides be the expence of the bringing ſo many pipes through the outer wall of the building.

deſtination of the preſent building: with only this remark, that, as the height is more than double that to which water can be raiſed by the preſſure of the atmoſphere, ſome other ſort of pump than the common lifting one muſt be employed. Forcing pumps I obſerve employed in the New St. Luke's Hoſpital, and propoſed by Mr. Howard in his plan of a Penitentiary-Houſe.

§ 23. OF

§ 23. *OF THE MODE*

OF

WARMING THE BUILDING.

THE poſſible differences in the mode of applying artificial heat to a building by means of culinary fire may be compriſed in the following ſhort analyſis. It may be either *open* or *cloſe:* if cloſe, either *unventilative* or *ventilative.* The open, in which the fuel is burnt on hearths or in grates, with or without the benefit of a chimney, is that moſt in uſe in our three kingdoms. The unventilative is exemplified in the Dutch, Ruſſian and Swediſh ſtoves: and in England in thoſe uſed for hot-houſes, and in thoſe uſed in dwelling-houſes and other buildings under the name of Buzaglo, who firſt brought them in vogue: the ventilative, in the ſtoves called Dr. Franklin's or the Pennſylvania ſtoves, and in thoſe for which Meſſrs. Moſer and Jackſon * have enjoyed a patent for ſome years.

The common or open mode is what, on account of the expence, nothing but abſolute neceſſity

* Ironmongers in Frith-ſtreet, Soho.

would juſtify the employment of in a Priſon. Expence of chimneys, grates, and other fire implements; expence of fuel, and of the time employed in conveying it; the expences muſt be multiplied by the whole number of Cells: for whatever need there is of it for any one, the ſame is there for every other. Even the miſchief that might be done by fire, through deſign or careleſſneſs, ſecure as a building thus conſtructed is from ſuch miſchief in compariſon of an ordinary houſe, is not altogether to be neglected.

The ſecond or unventilative method, beſides its being far from a pleaſant one to thoſe who are not accuſtomed to it, is by no means exempt from the ſuſpicion of being unfavourable to health. The heat ſubſiſts undiminiſhed, no otherwiſe than in as far as the air in the room remains unchanged: calefaction depends upon the want of ventilation. The air will not be as warm as is deſired at a certain diſtance from the heated ſtove, without being much hotter than is deſired in the vicinity of it: between the two regions are ſo many concentric ſtrata, in one or another of which every ſort of putreſcible ſubſtance will find the ſtate of things the moſt favourable to the prevalence of that noiſome and unhealthy fermentation. The breath and other animal effluvia, while they are putrifying in one

one part of the room may be burning in another. The unchanged and unchangeable air is corrupted, the lungs, the olfactory nerves and the ſtomach are aſſailed, in all manner of ways at once: by empyreuma, by putridity and by reſpiration.*

In the different modes of producing theſe noiſome effects there are degrees of noiſomeneſs: an iron ſtove is worſe than an earthen one: it contracts a greater degree of heat: and the vapour produced by the ſolution of a metal in burnt animal or vegetable oil, is an additional nuiſance over and above what an unmetalic earth will produce.

Over theſe impure methods of obtaining heat, the *ventilative* is capable of poſſeſſing a great advantage. The air which is to receive the heat being continually renewed, may be brought from the pure atmoſphere without; and inſtead of being ſtagnant, flows in a perpetually changing ſtream. Inſtead of burning in one part while it is freezing in

* Get the ſtove heated upon your entrance into a German inn, in about half an hour you perceive an abominable ſtink: in another half hour a ſlight degree of warmth: in a third the heat begins to be comfortable, in a fourth it is become ſuffocating. Open a door or window for relief, in ruſhes the air in partial guſts, and gives you cold.

In hot-houſes, though the unpleaſant effects of this mode of warming are perceptible to many people, they are however leſs ſo than in common dwelling-rooms; hot-houſes being ſo much leſs inhabited by animals whoſe only effect on the air is to taint it, than by vegetables, which howſoever they may vitiate it in certain ways, are found to purify as well as ſweeten it in others.

in another, the air of the room is thus rendered throughout of the ſame temperature. A ſucceſſion of cold air from without is the leſs neceſſary, as the warm air, what there is of it, is not leſs pure:* and this pure though heated air, if introduced, as it ought to be, from the lower part of the room helps to drive up before it, to that part of the room which is above the level of the reſpiration, that part of the air which by having been breathed already, has been rendered the leſs fit for breathing.

By the Pennſylvanian ſtoves theſe advantages were however poſſeſſed in but an imperfect degree.——Why?——Becauſe the *warming chamber* was a metallic one: it was of iron. By partitions made between an iron back to the grate and another ſuch back or the brickwork behind, the air was made to paſs through a long though tortuous channel of that metal in a too highly heated ſtate.

In the room of the metal ſubſtitute a pure and unmetalic earth, the miſchief has no place.

The misfortune is, that by means of earth alone, the operation has not hitherto been found practicable,

* It is ſuggeſted to me by Dr. Fordyce, that in ſuch a building matters might be contrived ſo that ſcarce any air ſhould enter anywhere that had not paſſed through the *warming-chamber*. I make uſe of that word to expreſs the receptacle through which the air is to be made to paſs in order to receive the heat.

ble, unleſs perhaps it be upon a large ſcale. In iron, your warming-chamber may be very thin, is ſoon heated, and is not liable to be put out of order by the heat. In earth, that receptacle if thick, that is of the thickneſs that muſt be given to it if made of bricks, is a long while in heating, a great deal of the heat is abſorbed and loſt in it, it gives out its heat with difficulty to the air, which, before it has had time to take up a ſufficiency of the heat is paſſed through and gone:* add to which, that in joining the bricks mortar muſt be uſed, and this mortar will be liable to ſhrink and crack by the heat and loſe its hold. On the other hand, if the earth be thin, as in retorts and crucibles, it will be liable to break by accidental violence, or crack by change of temperature: and at any rate it will not receive the heat from the fuel, or communicate it to the air, ſo ſoon as metal would.

The warming-chamber, or ſet of warming-chambers employed by the artiſts above mentioned, is calculated to obviate both thoſe inconveniences. It conſiſts of earthen retorts, open at both ends, and incloſed in iron ones. The air which is to be heated paſſes through the interior earthen veſſel without coming in contact any where with the exterior

* Could not the means be found of detaining the air with advantage till it had imbibed a ſufficient degree of heat, for inſtance by a pair of valves?—This is one of many points that might require to be conſidered.

terior iron one. The iron retort being that which alone is expoſed to the immediate action of the fire, defends from accidents the earthen one within. The earthen one, being the only one of the two that is in contact with the air, defends that element from the contaminating influence of the heated metal on the outſide.

The ventilative plan, modified in ſuch manner as to avoid the uſe of iron for the inſide of the warming-chamber, at leaſt of iron in a too highly heated ſtate, being determined upon, the queſtion is how to apply it in ſuch a building to the moſt advantage?

The firſt expedient that occurs is the making of what uſe can be made of the fires employed for the preparation of the food. From this ſource any quantity of heat might doubtleſs be obtained: but whether in ſuch a ſituation it could be obtained to any conſiderable amount upon advantageous terms, ſeems rather diſputable. In ordinary kitchens a good deal is produced, more or leſs of which might be employed perhaps in this way to more advantage than it is in common. But in a building of this form and deſigned for ſuch inhabitants, if the heat employed in the preparation of the food were diſpoſed of to that purpoſe to the beſt advantage, the quantity that would remain applicable to any

other

other purpoſe would, I believe, turn out to be but inconſiderable. That it would not be always ſufficient for that of the warming of ſuch a building I am altogether confident.*

The

* The moſt economical mode of dreſſing food by culinary fire is either *baking* or *boiling*. Baking, if performed upon the moſt economical plan, might be conducted in ſuch a manner as not to afford any heat at all applicable to any other purpoſe, as will be ſeen below. The moſt economical mode of boiling is in what are commonly called *coppers*, becauſe commonly made of that material, veſſels bedded in brick-work with a place for fuel underneath, cloſed by a door which is never opened but for the introduction of the fuel. In this way a ſmall proportion of fuel comparatively ſpeaking ſerves, ſcarce any of the heat being diſcharged into the room.

On the common plans the door conſiſts of a ſingle iron plate. It might be made double: conſiſting of two parallel plates, an inch or ſo aſunder with a bottom between: the interval might be filled up with ſand, or ſome other pure earth that is a worſe conductor of heat, if any ſuch there be. The heat would thus be the better kept in, and the outer partition of the door might be made to receive ſo little of it as not to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to the contamination of the air.

The heat contained in the ſteam raiſed by the boiling, ſhould not be ſuffered, as in private kitchens, to eſcape in waſte. It ſhould be collected and applied by tubes iſſuing from the covers of the coppers, after the manner of a *retort* or *ſtill head*. In proportion to the quantity of the proviſion that could thus be dreſſed by ſteam, would be the quantity of heat that would be ſaved. The ſteam veſſels would be ranged in front of the boiling veſſels, upon an elevation ſomewhat higher. The boiling veſſels, in order to catch as much of the current of fire as poſſible in its way to the chimney back, ſhould extend as far back as was conſiſtent with convenience. Hence too another advantage: they would have the more ſurface, and the more ſurface the more ſteam they would give to the ſteam veſſels, with a given quantity of heat in a given time. The better to confine the heat, it might be worth while perhaps * to make the ſteam veſſels, as alſo the covers and necks of

* Dr. Fordyce from experience, ſays *certainly*.

The deficiency muſt at any rate be made up by ſtoves to be provided on purpoſe. In this view the ſort ſold by the ingenious artiſts above-mentioned preſent themſelves as the moſt eligible yet known.

What

of the boilers double, with a lining of ſome badly conducting ſubſtance, ſuch as flannel or feathers, between the parallel plates.

The following fact, communicated by an intelligent and reverend friend, will help to ſhew how far any attention that can be paid to the confinement of heat is from being a trivial one.

In the pariſh of P——, in the county of W——, live two bakers, T. W. and T. R.—T. R's oven is better protected than that of T. W.: that is, ſo ſituated and circumſtanced, that whatever heat is introduced into it is better confined within it, leſs drawn off from it by ſurrounding bodies. Obſerve the conſequence.—To bake the ſame quantity of bread takes upwards of three times the quantity of fuel in the badly protected oven that it does in the other.

The following are the data in the preciſe ſtate in which they were given: from whence the accuracy of the calculation may be judged of.

In T. W's oven (the badly protected one) it takes 15 pennyworth of wood to bake 40 gallon loaves.

In T. R's, it takes but 8 pennyworth of wood (4 faggots at 2d. each) to bake 50 gallon loaves; and when he bakes a ſecond time the ſame day, it takes but half the quantity.

In a veſſel conſiſting chiefly of iron, weighing upwards of a ton, contrived for the purpoſe of hatching eggs, Dr. Fordyce many years ago produced by a ſingle lamp of the ſmalleſt kind in uſe, and communicated to the iron, a permanent degree of heat equal to that of boiling water. In the ſame veſſel, by the ſame means, he produced an addition of heat to the amount of 60 degrees, raiſing the temperation from 40 to 100 in a large ſpace in which a conſtant current of air was pervading every part. The uſe of feathers, ſuppoſed to be the worſt conductors of heat exiſting, was the contrivance on which the production of thoſe effects principally depended. Suppoſe the knowledge thus gained applied to the purpoſe of dreſſing the food in manner of an oven, what would be the ſurplus of heat applicable to the purpoſe of warming the building?—None.

What then is the degree of artificial heat which the whole of the apparatus employed ſhould be capable of maintaining?—What ſize and number of ſtoves would be neceſſary to inſure it?—From whence ought the air to be taken into the warming-chamber?—Whereabouts to be diſcharged from it?—How to be made to viſit every Cell?

As to the number of degrees of extra heat which the apparatus ſhould be capable of affording, it ſhould hardly be leſs than 40 of Fahrenheit's ſcale. Forty added to 32, the degree at the freezing point, would make 72, 17 degrees above the height commonly marked *temperate*. But in time of froſt the heat is commonly more or leſs below the freezing point: one inſtance I remember of its being ſo much lower as 46 degrees: 14 below 0. This, it is true, was for a few hours only, and that in the open air, and in a ſituation particularly expoſed. And in a building where the kitchen fires might at any rate afford ſomething, and the warmth of ſo many bodies, added to that of ſo many lights, would afford ſomething more, and where the thickneſs of the walls would afford ſo much protection againſt ſudden viciſſitudes, no ſuch very extraordinary deficiencies ſeem probable enough to be worth providing for. My learned adviſer above-mentioned thinks I may venture to ſet down the loweſt degree to be apprehended as 25.

Forty added to this makes 65, 10 degrees above the temperate point. This may be more than will ever be neceſſary. But in a permanent proviſion, ſome allowance ſhould be made for accidents, and in a buſineſs of ſuch uncertainty, ſtill more for miſcalculation. Officers, it is to be remembered, not leſs than priſoners, muſt be kept in view. Should neceſſity be the only object to be provided for in the one caſe, comfort and cuſtom muſt be attended to in the other. Happily for the leaſt regarded claſs, in a building of this form to be warmed in this manner, very little diſtinction in regard to this important branch of comfort can be made.

As to the number and ſize, the ſeven ſupports (one of the eight being made uſe of as a water-pipe) afford ſo many chimneys, each of which is capable of receiving its ſtove. But how many out of the ſeven would be neceſſary, and thoſe of what ſize? Experience would determine: but as a proviſion muſt be made in the conſtruction of the building antecedent to any experience that can be obtained in the building itſelf, *data* collected from experience of other buildings muſt be looked out for. Such *data* are not altogether wanting. A ſingle ſtove of Moſer and Jackſon's conſtruction, being employed in St. George's Church Bloomſbury, raiſed the heat *eleven* degrees of Fahrenheit's ſcale, and it

it did not appear that it was able to raiſe it any more. To produce in that Church 40 degrees of extra heat, the number above fixed upon for our priſon, it would therefore require *four* ſuch ſtoves. What follows?—That to aſcertain *a priori* from the above *datum* as well as may be the ſize and number of ſtoves of the ſame conſtruction neceſſary for our building, three other *data* would be neceſſary: the dimenſions of the above ſtove: the dimenſions of the inſide of that Church, and the dimenſions of the inſide of the Panopticon propoſed: noting withall that the quantity of glaſs in the central Sky-light, in the Annular Sky-light, and in the Cell Windows, added to the number of the Partition Walls between Cell and Cell, would probably lay the Panopticon under ſome little diſadvantage in compariſon with that Church.

In the above manner ſome conjecture may be formed relative to the total quantity of calefactive power that would probably be requiſite: I mean of the ſum of the contents of the warming-chamber, in whatever manner they may be diſpoſed.

But when the ſum total of the contents is fixed upon, the number and relative ſize of the ſeveral warming-chambers is not a matter of indifference. Equality of diſtribution requires that the number ſhould be as great as poſſible, and the capacities of of the ſeveral warming-chambers equal. Eight ſupports, that is eight-chimneys to the twenty-four piles

piles of Cells, would give a ſtove to every three piles of Cells. The dead-part occupying the ſpace of five piles of Cells, the middle one of the three ſupports that look to the Dead-part would be the proper one to give up, and make uſe of as a water-pipe: the ſeven others would afford ſeven ſtoves among nineteen piles of Cells *.

Will the diſtribution thus made be ſufficiently minute? Experience alone can decide with certainty. Of the three piles of Cells correſponding to each ſtove, the middle one, if there were any difference, ſhould receive more heat than the other two. But this difference I ſhould expect to find little or nothing, and if it were but ſmall, it would be rather a convenience than otherwiſe: varieties of temperature might thus be adjuſted to differences with regard to employment, health, conſtitution and good behaviour.

At its exit from the Warming-chamber, ſhall the heated air be ſuffered to take its own courſe, or ſhall it meet with a tube to conduct it to the part at which it begins to be of uſe? This too would be matter of experiment, and the experiment might

* Total capacity out of the queſtion, the mere number would not raiſe the price to more than 24½ guineas: the price of one of the leaſt ſize ſold by Moſer and Jackſon being no more than 3½ guineas; but the quantity of calefactive power obtainable from ſeven ſmall ſtoves would probably go but a little way towards furniſhing 40 degrees of heat to ſuch a building.

might be performed without any conſiderable expence. Terminating in the neareſt part of the Intermediate Well, each tube would require about 14 feet in length. For the materials, the worſt conductors of heat that would not be too expenſive ſhould be ſelected: a ſquare pipe of four thin boards of that length, each four or five inches over. Theſe might be covered with a caſe of looſe cloth, of the texture of the warmeſt blanketing: which, to keep off the duſt, and contribute ſtill more to the confinement of the heat, might be encloſed in a ſimilar tube. If by the help of theſe *radial* tubes the diſtribution were not found equal enough they might be made to terminate in a *circumferential* one of ſimilar materials: the whole of the *channel of communication* or *diſcharging duct*, as it might be called, would thus repreſent the exterior part of a wheel, compoſed of hollow ſpokes terminating in a hollow felly. The felly thus conſtituted ſhould be pierced at equal and frequent intervals with equal apertures, the ſum of which ſhould be equal, and no more than equal *, to the ſum of the apertures of the radial tubes.

Why theſe radial tubes? ſince, as far as they extended, they would prevent the horizontal diſtribution of the heat, and, though compoſed of ſuch materials

* If greater, the heated air might be diſcharged at the neareſt part of the circumferential tube before it had attained the moſt remote.

materials as to abſorb as little of it as poſſible, they would at any rate abſorb ſome.—For this reaſon: that without them a great part of the air, indeed the greateſt, by amounting directly to the ceiling of the ſunken ſtory, would be already 4 or 5 feet above the floor of the loweſt ſtory of the Cells: and the ceiling, as well by the nature of its materials as by its relative extent of ſurface, would abſorb beyond compariſon more of the heat than would be abſorbed by the tubes.

The *horizontal* diſtribution of the heated air being thus provided for, *how to provide for its diſtribution on a perpendicular direction* among the ſix ſtories of Cells in the ſame pile? For if no particular proviſion were made, the natural tendency of the heated air being to make its way out by the ſhorteſt paſſage, the greater part of it would mount up perpendicularly to the ſky-light, where it would neceſſarily find chinks at which it would make its exit, without ever having viſited the Cells.

To prevent this aberration, and to inſure a regular draught through every Cell, I inſert a chain of tubes reaching from bottom to top, but with regular interruptions*. In the floor of each Cell of the loweſt ſtory of Cells, cloſe to the front wall, at

* For the general idea of a ſet of perforations for this purpoſe, and a view of the neceſſity of employing them, I am indebted to the obliging ſuggeſtion of Dr. Fordyce.

at an equal diſtance from the two ſide-walls, and conſequently at the crown of the arch, I leave a round hole, ſay 4 inches in diameter, paſſing through the brick-work into the ſunken ſtory below. To this hole I adapt a hollow tube of thin caſt iron, of the ſame diameter. This tube is continued in height to within a few inches of the ceiling above: which brings it to between 8 and 9 feet in length. Arrived at that height, it terminates in a horizontal mouth, which may be cloſed by a ſort of grating, transformable at pleaſure into an unperforated plate *. Between this mouth and the lower end of the tube is a wire grating, to prevent correſpondence by papers. Immediately over this tube, is the open end of a ſimilar tube with an expanding aperture, fluſh with the ceiling, and conſequently at a few inches diſtance from the mouth of the firſt mentioned tube, partly for the purpoſe of inviting the current that way in the ſame manner, partly for the ſake of conveying the breathed air of that lowermoſt Cell into the upper region of the next above it: and ſo all the way up.

The

* A neat contrivance for this purpoſe is employed by Meſſrs. Moſer and Jackſon. Out of a circular plate of braſs, ſpaces are cut in the form of *radii*, equal in dimenſions to the quantity left. Under the metallic ſtar thus formed, a ſimilar one is ſtowed, connected with the upper one by a pivot on which it turns. On giving a ſlight turn to the under ſtar, it moves from under the upper one by which it was covered before, fills up the interſtices, and the aperture is compleatly and exactly cloſed.

The uppermoſt of all this chain of tubes runs through the roof, and opens immediately above. It may be there covered with an horizontal valve, the weight of which will be ſufficient to cloſe it, and exclude the colder air on the outſide. When lifted up by the ſtream of heated air from within, the efflux of that air will be ſufficient to prevent the influx of the colder one from without.

Why, inſtead of a ſimple hole in the brick-work, a tube, and that running to ſuch a height?—For two reaſons: that it may not afford a means of ſecret converſe between the Cells: and that the air which has been breathed in the Cell below may not be conveyed to any part, in which it would be liable to be breathed again of the Cell above: it is accordingly diſcharged as high as poſſible above the level of the organs of reſpiration.

Should the precaution be deemed neceſſary, a few ſlight bars might be diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to prevent a priſoner from introducing his head or ear, near enough to the mouth of the tube to gain an opportunity of converſe. But frugality forbids the being at the expence of theſe bars, before experience had ſhewn the need of them. The probability is that no ſuch need would ever occur: ſince a man could not make uſe of the aperture of the tube for ſpeaking without mounting upon ſomething,

nor

nor mount upon any thing for that purpoſe without ſubjecting himſelf to a great chance of being obſerved. Nor then would it avail him any thing, unleſs the perſon to whom he addreſſed himſelf in the Cell above or underneath, were elevated and occupied in the ſame manner at the ſame time, which without doubling the chance of detection could not be. Add to which, that if there be more than one in either Cell, they too muſt be privy to the intercourſe: and in a ſituation like this, privity without diſcloſure may in juſtice, and ought in policy, to be put in reſpect of puniſhment, upon a footing with complicity.

The level at which the warmed air was diſcharged could not be too low: the only ſpot in which there can be a certainty of placing it without inconvenience is the floor of the Intermediate Area and the ſpace under the Lodge. Thus ſituated, the tube would not be above 7 or 8 feet below the level of the floor of the lowermoſt ſtory of the Cells which are to be warmed by it. If it were in the ceiling, it would be already 3 or 4 feet above them, and before it could croſs the Intermediate Well, would have been carried ſtill higher. If it were any where between the floor and ceiling, it would be in the way, and ſtop the paſſage, unleſs it were conſiderably higher than a man's head, and then it would require pillars here and there to ſup-

port it. To ſink it to that level, either the ſtoves themſelves might be ſunk down accordingly, or a *perpendicular* tube might drop from the warming-chamber to join the *radical* tube. The former expedient ſeems the moſt economical and the moſt ſimple*.

It might perhaps be no bad economy to have a ſort of *curtain* for the Annular Sky-light to cover it as ſoon as the lights are lit in cold weather. When not uſed it might be kept coiled up on rollers, at the upper part of the ſky-light, that is, at the part where it joins the roof of the Inſpection-tower, and from thence drawn down over and acroſs the Annular Well, and faſtened by rings to ranges of hooks inſerted a little above the interior windows of the chambers over the Cells. It might be of the thickneſs and texture of the warmeſt ſort of blanketing. It would be aſſiſtant to warmth, not only by keeping the air from impinging againſt the glaſs of the ſky-light, and there diſcharging its heat, but likewiſe by ſtopping the current and directing it towards the Cells. The ſky-light, it ſhould be obſerved, muſt unavoidably be ſecured by

* True it is, that though the air when heated will not naturally deſcend, yet ſudden guſts may carry it even in that direction, beſides that the heat of every ſtratum of air will of itſelf in a certain degree be communicated to every ſtratum of air that is contiguous. But theſe are aſſiſtances too inconſiderable to be adequate to the purpoſe. They would ſtill leave a great diſparity between the temperature of the loweſt ſtory and thoſe above it.

by innumerable crevices, one between every two panes: for in that ſituation, in order to prevent their cracking by the viciſſitudes of temperature, the panes inſtead of being fixed in the frame and the crevices ſtopped with putty, muſt be placed ſo as to lap over one another, without any thing to cloſe the chinks.

Proviſion remains yet to be made for the Lodge. This might be effected by a ſmall tube running from each of the ſtoves. It need be but a ſmall one: for the warmth yielded by the ſupports themſelves through which the ſmoke is paſſing, cannot but be conſiderable. Not improbably it would be ſufficient. If upon trial it ſhould prove otherwiſe, it would be eaſy to add the tubes. To diſtribute the heat the better and aſſiſt the ventilation, they ſhould open at the circumference of the room, but juſt above the floor, alternating with the chimneys. The air, as faſt as it was heated by the chimneys or by reſpiration, would, together with the heated air from the tubes, make its way out at the central aperture. There would be no danger either of phlogiſtication from the iron or want of ventilation. The utmoſt heat which the ſmoke could impart to the chimneys would not be conſiderable enough to produce the former inconvenience, and the Central Aperture is a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the latter.

Were

Were it not for the diſtance there is between the ſpot where the air receives its heat and the apartments for which it is wanted, it is evident the *diſcharging-ducts* could not be too ſhort: ſince the more extenſive they are, the more of the heat they abſorb.

As to the Inſpection-Galleries, being immediately over the ſpot at which the diſcharge of the heated air is effected, they can be at no loſs for a ſupply. It is but leaving here and there in the floor an aperture capable of being cloſed at pleaſure. Indeed it matters not how thin the floors of thoſe Galleries are: if of mere boards, the mere crevices might anſwer the purpoſe.

From whence ſhall the air be admitted into the warming chambers of the ſtoves? From the entrance, by an admiſſion-duct, a ſort of an *æriduct*, if the term may be allowed, appropriated to the purpoſe. In general this is a point very little attended to. Air of ſome ſort or other will be found every where, and any ſort it is thought, may ſerve. Air already within the building might even be taken in preference: ſince by the ſtay it has made there it has already acquired ſome heat. But if the dependence is on what draws in through doors and crevices, there can be no air any further than in proportion as there is an influx of cold air at all thoſe inlets. The cold air that comes in at the crevices will in moſt inſtances find its way to the

the bodies of thoſe whom it is intended to keep warm: that which comes in at the doors will in every inſtance. But if a ſupply adequate to the evacuation kept up by reſpiration and other cauſes, is introduced through the Warming-chambers, no ſuch influx of cold air will take place.

This aeriduct then will be nothing but a flue ſimilar to thoſe employed for conveyance of the ſmoke in hot-houſes. Short tubes of iron, will ſerve for its junction with the Warming-chambers. The quantity thus drawn in can ſcarcely be inſufficient for reſpiration;* if it were, the deficiency might be made up by tubes diſcharging the cold air at a height above the heads of the inhabitants, and pointing upwards.†

The

* The quantity thus requiſite is eaſily aſcertained. The quantity of freſh air neceſſary to ſupport a man without inconvenience for a given time has been pretty well determined. This quantity, multiplied by the greateſt number of inhabitants the building can ever incloſe at the ſame time, would give the quantity of freſh air requiſite for the ſupply of the building during that time.

† Another uſe, which though collateral to the above deſign, is not the leaſt conſiderable of the advantages that might be reaped from it, is the opportunity it would afford of a ſet of experiments relative to the economy of heat. With the leaſt quantity and expence of fuel poſſible how to produce and ſupport for a given time a given degree of heat, applicable to the ſeveral purpoſes for which heat is required? Such is the problem to be ſolved: a ſubject which has never yet been taken up upon principles, or upon a large ſcale. Of what importance the ſolution of ſuch a problem would be to the population and wealth of nations may be ſeen at a ſingle glance. Fuel of the foſſil kind is a limited reſource:

The Penitentiary-Act puts an inexorable negative upon all this contrivance. According to that Act

fource: the nation which conſumes it lives upon a capital which muſt ſooner or later be exhauſted. The population of a country in which artificial heat is a neceſſary of life muſt therefore ultimately depend upon the quantity it can keep of ſuch ſort of fuel as can be obtained from the vegetable kingdom, the only ſort which is capable of being regularly reproduced.

The facilities which a building upon the Panopticon-principle would afford for experiments in this view will readily be apprehended. In the ſeven ſtoves, which without putting more than one to each chimney it admits of, trial might be make of ſo many different forms. The *ventilative* mode would of courſe be taken for the common baſis: but this ground-work is ſuſceptible of a great variety of modifications. The conſtruction purſued by Meſſrs. Moſer and Jackſon, with all its ſuperiority over all preceding methods, may yet be found to fall conſiderably ſhort of perfection in this line. Doubling the Warming-chamber occaſions a great conſumption of fuel, and renders this mode of warming far from being ſo cheap as could be wiſhed. Could not the ſame degree of extra heat be given to a building by a leſs degree of ignition given to a larger quantity of air? For, as Dr. Fordyce has clearly demonſtrated to me, the leſs the degree of heat which the air contracts in the warming-chamber the better, for very material reaſons. Reducing the degree of heat given to the air by augmenting the quantity of air to which heat is given, could not there be found ſome ſingle ſubſtance of which a Warming-chamber might be made, without the addition of another receptacle to line or to encloſe it? Is it moſt advantageous to make the warming-chamber *divided* into partitions, as practiſed by Moſer and Jackſon, or *entire?* and if entire, to what extent can ſuch a Warming-chamber be carried to advantage? What is the moſt advantageous form for the Warming-chamber, and what the moſt advantageous mode of applying the fire to it, and connecting it with the fire-place? The relation being aſcertained between a degree of heat as indicated by the thermometer on the one hand, and the expanſive force on the other, and thence the velocity of current, and quantity of air ſo heated diſcharged out of a mouth of known dimenſions within a known time, could not a given degree of heat be ſecured at pleaſure to the air thus diſcharged, by cloſing the mouth with a valve loaded by a weight, which would thus

Act all Penitentiary-houſes muſt abſolutely be warmed, " dried and moderately warmed in damp or

thus indicate and expreſs by pounds and ounces the ſeveral degrees and quantities above mentioned, and conſeqently the calefactive powers of the ſtove? Such are among the queſtions which the enquiry would have in view. Hitherto, partly for want of ſcience, partly for want of a proper theatre for experiment, whatever has been done by artiſts in this line has been little more than random gueſs-work. Means might not improbably be found, in ſome ſuch way as above hinted at, of aſcertaining *a priori*, I mean previouſly to any trial made in the particular building to be warmed, the calefactive power of a given ſtove, that is the quantity of air heated to a given degree which it is capable of yielding to that or any building within a given time. This indication being obtained, the ſeveral calefactive powers of different ſtoves might be compared while they were at work at the ſame time, whereas without it the compariſon could no otherwiſe be made than by ſetting them to work in the ſame building at different times. The ſpecies and quantity of fuel employed in the different ſtoves, the temperature of the air in different parts of the building, and of the atmoſphere without the building during the whole continuance of the experiments, theſe or other influencing or reſulting circumſtances would need to be carefully marked and regiſtered. In the ſame way the comparative calefactive powers of different ſorts of *fuel* might alſo be aſcertained. I have already hinted at the enquiries that might be made relative to the application of the heat to baking, boiling, and other domeſtic operations: not to mention thoſe which, like malting, brewing and diſtilling, are conducted upon a more extenſive ſcale. Were a courſe of experiments to be carried on with any ſuch views, on ſo new and ſo peculiarly favourable a theatre, it might be of uſe that the plan of operations ſhould be made public before hand, that ſuch lights and inſtructions as might be obtainable from the philoſophical world, might be collected before the commencement of the courſe. Philoſophy is never more worthily occupied then when affording her aſſiſtances to the economy of common life: benefits of which mankind in general are partakers, being thus ſuperadded to whatever gratification is to be reaped from researches purely ſpeculative. It is a vain and falſe philoſophy which conceives its dignity to be debaſed by uſe.

or cold weather,"—" by flues," and theſe flues muſt come " from the flues in the kitchens and " other public fires belonging to each houſe."*

The invention of Meſſrs. Moſer and Jackſon, as well as all other inventions, paſt, preſent and to come, that make no uſe of flues, is here rejected, ſeven years before it was ever thought of. I muſt be allowed a word or two in behalf of theſe ingenious artiſts. I am a co-defendant with them: a partner in their guilt. The ſame ſtatute which prohibits their mode of warming a Penitentiary-houſe, proſcribes my mode of building one, and my mode of managing one, in almoſt every circumſtance. What has the ſervice been a gainer by this rigour? We ſhall ſee—Economy, I preſume, and that alone, was the power that dictated it. Humanity, however peremptory ſhe might be in her injunctions that felons ſhould have warm bedchambers, would not of herſelf have been thus particular about the mode.

On the kitchen fires, which are put foremoſt, ſeems to be the grand reliance: the other public fires ſeem rather to be thrown in as make weights.

That economy could draw much advantage from this ſource will not, I believe, ſeem very probable, to

* 19. G. 3. c. 74. § 33.

to any one who may have caſt an eye over one of the preceding pages. A Panopticon Penitentiary Houſe is a *room:* this ſtatute Penitentiary-Houſe was to have been a *town* with ſtreets in it. In the room this reſource ſeemed to amount to little: what would it amount to in the town? I would as ſoon think of warming London by the fires of the tavern kitchens.

Thus then ſtands the economy of the contrivance. That the bed-chambers may be economically warmed by flues from kitchens, kitchens and kitchen-fires, and ſo forth, are to be multiplied till there are enough of them for the bed-chambers. Could the new invented ſtoves be employed on any terms under this act? By preſcribing the one mode does it peremptorily proſcribe the other? Would an indictment lie, or only a *mandamus?*—This is more than I would preſume to anſwer. But what muſt be done at all events, or the poſitive injunctions of the law diſobeyed, is—to build the kitchens. That done, and whatever degree of heat is neceſſary being produced in that way, whatever degree is not neceſſary, might perhaps be produceable in the moſt economical manner by the new invented ſtoves.

A little lower we ſhall ſee more of theſe culinary laws: but the virtue of the preſent one is not yet exhauſted. To decide this as well as all other

queſtions relative to the conſtruction of the building, three ſuperintendants are employed. Suppoſe the three (no very unnatural ſuppoſition) to have taken up each of them a different ſyſtem about warming: one a patron of the ingenious artiſts above mentioned, another a diſciple and partizan of Dr. Franklin's, the third an adorer of the memory of the departed ſage to whom this ſtatute is ſo much indebted, and an inexpugnable defender of the letter of the law. So many Superintendants, ſo many irreconcilable modes of warming the houſe. How would they agree?——As the three original Superintendants did about the place where it was to be put.

The error lies—not in regulating badly, but in regulating at all. Economy, houſehold economy, is the child of the hour: it changes with prices, which change with the progreſs of ingenuity, the courſe of taxation, the copiouſneſs of ſupply, the fluctuations of demand, and a thouſand incidents beſides. Meddling with matters like theſe, the legiſlator will probably be wrong to day, he will certainly be wrong to-morrow.

Were I obliged to make a law about heat, I would rather enact the degree than the mode of producing it. *In no Cell ſhall the heat ever be ſuffered to be fewer than ſuch a number of degrees,* nor more

more than ſuch another number, above the freezing point in ſuch or ſuch a ſcale. Inſure this degree, you whoſe buſineſs it is, as cheaply as you can.—Is the temperature thus fixed upon, a proper one? It will not be leſs ſo a thouſand years hence. Minuteneſs might be objected, but not improvidence.

To what end this economy all the while?—— that felons may have fires, or what is equivalent, in their bed-chambers. I ſay in their bed-chambers. For in theſe Cells they are to do nothing but "reſt:"* this is carefully provided: other apartments are to be given them for working-rooms and dining-rooms.†—Fires in bed-chambers for felons? Is it every gentleman whoſe bed-chamber has a fire in it, or ſo much as a place to make one? In the coldeſt and dampeſt weather, is it altogether univerſal, even in the moſt opulent families, to have a fire to go to bed by?

And have not your felons then this luxury?—Yes—that they have: and glad I am they have it—Why?—Becauſe it coſts nothing: they have no other rooms than their bed-chambers. Is it that they may have warm rooms to ſleep in?—No: but that ſuch of them as are employed in ſedentary trades, may work and ſit comfortably in the ſhort intervals of their work, inſtead of ſhivering in forced and comfortleſs inaction. By night as well as by

* § 33. † Ibid.

by day, they work as long as health and eaſe permit. They are not, like ſome we ſhall ſee hereafter, compelled to lazineſs beyond that of the lazieſt child of luxury, chained to their beds by law.

§ 24. *OF*

§ 24. *OF THE ECONOMY*

OBSERVED IN THE

CONSTRUCTION.

IT may be reduced to three principal heads: 1. Making the ſame apartment ſerve for every thing: 2. Making the Cells capable of ſerving for two, three, or four inhabitants inſtead of one: 3. Making them no larger than is neceſſary.

1. Six ſeveral modes of action or exiſtence are incident to the perſons for whoſe reception the building is particularly deſigned: *to work*, *to eat*, *to ſleep*, *to pray*, *to be puniſhed*, and *to be nurſed*. One and the ſame place ſerves my priſoners for all of them. If the reſtriction is ſevere, it is not unexampled. In our own three kingdoms it is the lot of many hundred thouſands, perhaps of ſome millions, of better men.

I ſee nothing that ſhould hinder a man from working where he eats, working where he ſleeps, eating where he works, eating where he ſleeps, ſleeping where he works, or ſleeping where he eats. All this and more, it has more than once happened to myſelf to do in the ſame room for a conſiderable time

time together, and I cannot ſay I ever found any bad conſequence from it.

I conceive it not altogether impoſſible for a man, nor even for a Chriſtian to pray where he does all this: Chriſt and his Apoſtles did ſo. Synagogues excepted, neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles knew what it was to pray in any conſecrated place.

Not that for all this I have any objection to that rite. It ſeems neither difficult to ſhew that it does ſervice to religion, nor eaſy, if poſſible, to ſhew that it does diſſervice.

In my plan I accordingly admit a conſecrated ſpace, and that by no means a confined one: a place in which no operation that does not miniſter to religion ſhall be carried on. All I contend for is that it is not neceſſary that the Priſoners ſhould themſelves be ſituated in that place: that it is ſufficient to every purpoſe if, without being ſituated there, they ſee and hear what paſſes there. The place where the Miniſter is ſituated, and where the more conſiderable part of the auditory are ſituated, the place to which the eyes and the thoughts of the Priſoners are turned, is holy ground.

As little reaſon do I ſee why the ſame place ſhould not ſerve them for being puniſhed in. Separate

parate apartments for this purpoſe are ſurely of all luxuries one that can beſt be ſpared *.

As to nurſing, whether upon the common plans of conſtruction, ſeparate rooms for that uſe were neceſſary, is not ſtrictly to the purpoſe here. The bed-chambers being all ſingle ones, I do not immediately apprehend what advantage the patients were to get by being removed out of thoſe rooms into others, unleſs it were that of having fires in their rooms, a benefit which without ſhifting their quarters they might have received from portable ſtoves. A portable ſtove not only coſts leſs than a room, but is ſooner made. Were the Infirmary-rooms at any time to be filled, it would be rather an aukward circumſtance for a patient in a high fever to wait for attendance till an additional Infirmary could be built and in readineſs to receive him. At Moſer and Jackſon's, a good

* At Weſtminſter School, two brothers once upon a time were caught ſtraggling out of bounds. For their chaſtiſement, their father, a character not unknown in thoſe days, cauſed two ferulas to be made on purpoſe. The ſum of each culprit's tranſgreſſion was inſcribed upon the inſtrument of his puniſhment: and care was taken that in the correction of him who had ſtrayed to St. John's, the ferula ſhould not be employed which was deſtined to wipe out the guilt that had been contracted in Tothill-Fields. I remember the boys, the father, and the ſticks. The mode of chaſtiſement was, it muſt be confeſſed ſtriking enough, but was it a neceſſary one? As neceſſary at leaſt as it would have been to have built rooms to puniſh them in: And of the two contrivances, building a room, and engraving a couple of words upon the head of a ſtick, which is the moſt expenſive?

good portable ſtove may be had upon the pureſt principle for $3\frac{1}{2}$ guineas ready made: ſtoves of inferior quality, and leſs elaborate contrivance, probably at a ſtill cheaper rate.

But be this as it may in the Penitentiary-town / deſigned by the Act, in a Panopticon Penitentiary-houſe, nurſing rooms on purpoſe would be unneceſſary beyond diſpute. Rooms better adapted to that uſe than every Cell is of itſelf, or even ſo well, can hardly be ſhewn any where. By nurſing-rooms on purpoſe I mean rooms, which when they are not put to this uſe are not put to any other. For as to particular Cells, more particularly well ſuited to the purpoſe of an *Infirmary*, than other Cells, ſuch have already been pointed out, and under that very name: * but the convenience they would afford to the ſick, is no reaſon why, when there are no ſick, they ſhould remain unoccupied. Indeed the whole of the upper ſtory of Cells is peculiarly well adapted to this uſe. None of the air that has viſited any one of theſe Cells ever viſits any other part of the whole building: and being ſo much nearer than any others to the roof, they can receive a portable ſtove and its chimney, with ſo much the leſs inconvenience and expence.†

All

* § 6. *Dead part.*

† A ſeparate Infirmary for a Panopticon Penitentiary-houſe? I would not deſire ſuch a thing even for the plague. Guarded by

All theſe different ſets of apartments the Penitentiary Act ſuppoſes—all but one, the dining-

by proper regulations, I ſhould not have the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of inhabiting the Inſpection-tower, while the Cells were filled by patients dying of that diſeaſe. How much leſs would there be to fear, where the only danger is a poſſibility of its importation by goods or paſſengers on account of the country from which they come? A LAZARETTO may accordingly be added to the number of the eſtabliſhments to which the Panopticon principle might be applied, under ſome variations, to ſignal advantage. On caſting an eye over the *Table of ends and means* at the end of this volume, the reader will eaſily diſtinguiſh ſuch of the latter as are applicable to this purpoſe: he will alſo diſtinguiſh with equal facility ſuch of the expedients as being adapted to oppoſite purpoſes would require to be diſcarded or changed. As to comfort, amuſement, luxury in all its ſhapes, it is ſufficient to hint that there is nothing of that ſort that need be excluded from ſuch an hotel any more than from any other. But every thing of luxury apart, what would not Howard have given for a Cell in a Panopticon Penitentiary-houſe as here deſcribed, inſtead of the apartment in the Venetian Lazaret, the ſtench of which had ſo nearly coſt him his life? *

I muſt not dwell in this place on a ſubject of ſo confined a nature and ſo foreign to the preſent purpoſe. I will only juſt add, that the plan of warming as here deſcribed would afford a method peculiarly advantageous of airing the cotton wool, which is the great and dangerous article in the Levant trade. Laying the cotton in light ſtrata upon numerous and ſhallow ſtages, in ſheltered warehouſes, occupying the ground-floor of the Cellular part of the building, it might eaſily be ſo ordered, by flues or pipes leading from the back part of thoſe ſtages to the ſtoves in the Inſpection-tower, that not a particle of air ſhould viſit the fire in the ſtoves, that had not made its way through the cotton on the ſtages. The ventilation, beſides being ſo much more perfect, not depending as it muſt otherwiſe upon the uncertainties of the weather, the continuance of this irkſome and expenſive probation might be ſo much the ſhorter.

* Howard on Lazarettos, p. 11.

rooms, it expreſsly orders.* I ſee no mention in it of powdering-rooms.†

On the common Penitentiary plans each priſoner muſt at any rate have a ſleeping-room to himſelf. —Why?—Becauſe, being under no ſort of inſpection or controul during the hours allotted for ſleep, which under the common management occupy the greateſt part of the twenty-four, even two, much more any greater number, might prompt and aſſiſt one another in plotting to eſcape. But the rooms they ſleep in might at ſome times be too cold for working in, or they would not hold the machines which it is thought adviſable to employ, or their work requires that they ſhould be under the eye of an Inſpector, which they cannot be in theſe rooms. Therefore there are to be other rooms for working in.

Have any notions about health and airineſs contributed to this opinion about the neceſſity of differ-

ent

* Not exactly ſo. Meals, for aught I ſee, might be made in the working rooms: they cannot, however, in the ſleeping-rooms. § 33. I am not certain whether Mr. Blackburn put dining-rooms in his plans: I think I have heard he did. Two Chapels I know he had put in for the National Penitentiary-houſe: one for each ſex: but ſtruck out one of them upon its being ſuggeſted to him that it was poſſible for the two ſexes to be in the ſame place at different times.

† I was once much preſſed to put a Tennis-court in my plan: for felons have not leſs need of exerciſe than honeſt men. Powdering-rooms are more common, and would be leſs expenſive.

ent rooms for the different parts of the twenty-four hours? I am not certain: though ſomething to this effect I think I have obſerved in the publications of Mr. Howard. But even under the common Penitentiary diſcipline, I ſhould not think any ſuch multiplication neceſſary: much leſs under the plan of management here propoſed. To how many hundred thouſands of his Majeſty's honeſt ſubjects is ſuch luxury unknown! Even among perſons ſomewhat above the level of the loweſt claſs, what is more common than to have but one room, not only for one perſon, but for a whole family, man, wife and children; and not only working, and ſleeping and eating, but cooking to be performed in it. Among the Iriſh cotters, as we learn from Mr. Arthur Young, that is among the bulk of the Iriſh people, one room is the only receptacle for man, wife, children, dog and ſwine. Has that one room ſo much as a ſingle window in it, much leſs oppoſite windows, or any aperture but the door? In towns where one room forms the ſole dwelling-place of a whole family, has not that room cloſed windows in it? Is there any commanding power to enforce the opening of any of thoſe windows? Does not the averſion to cold forbid it? Are they ſo much as capable of being opened, if at all, for more than half their length? — and that the lower half? *—

Let

* Were ventilation the object, the upper ſaſh would be the one to open in preference, eſpecially where the higheſt part of the

Let me not be miſtaken. Far be it from me to propoſe the manner in which the common people live through ignorance, as a proper model to be purſued by thoſe who have the good fortune to be poſſeſſed of more intelligence. Far be it from me to inſinuate that a bad regimen ought to be preſcribed only becauſe it is practiſed. All I mean is, that the degree of airineſs moſt frequent in the dwellings of the greater part of the people is inferior, and much inferior, to that which might be obtained without multiplication of rooms, even according to the hitherto received mode of conſtruction for Penitentiary-houſes, and according to the mode of management hitherto purſued in them. In priſons even ſo managed, the inhabitants would not in this reſpect be worſe off, but much better off, than the common run of men at liberty. Yet even in this reſpect how inferior are ſome of the moſt approved plans of conſtruction in compariſon of the one now propoſed! * There, when you ſhut out rain or ſnow, you ſhut out air. There, rain or not rain, windows open or not open, you have freſh air in plenty: in much greater plenty than is uſual in a palace.

2. Of

lower one is not above the level of the organs of reſpiration. Were it not for accidental guſts, ſo much of the air as is above the aperture might remain for ever unchanged. It may perhaps have been partly on this conſideration that in Mr. Howard's and the Wymondham plans the holes ſerving for windows are placed ſo high.

* Supra, p. 134.

2. Of ſuch part of the ſaving as reſults from the ſubſtituting a ſteady plan of mitigated ſecluſion in ſmall apartments to an alternation of ſolitude and promiſcuous intercourſe, nothing farther need be ſaid here: it has been fully vindicated in a preceding ſection.

3. Of the waſte of room obſervable in the common plans, a great part is to be placed to the account of *height*. Not more than eleven feet, but not leſs than nine, is the height preſcribed by the Penitentiary Act. * The Wymondham houſe takes the medium between theſe two extremes.† Waſte it may well be called. I ſuſpected as much at the time of writing the letters. I ſpeak now with deciſion, and upon the cleareſt views. In reſpect of health, height of ceiling is no otherwiſe of uſe than a ſort of ſuccedaneum to or means of ventilation. In either view it is beſide the purpoſe: as a ſuccedaneum inadequate; as a means, unneceſſary. If your air indeed is never to be changed, the more you have of it, the longer you may breath it before you are poiſoned: this is all you get by height of ceiling. But ſo long as it is undergoing an inceſſant change, what ſignifies what height you have? Take a Panopticon Penitentiary-houſe on one hand, and St. Paul's employed as a Penitentiary-Cell, on the other. Let the Panopticon, aired as here propoſed to

* § 33. † Supra, p. 133.

to be aired, and warmed as here propoſed to be warmed, contain 4 or 500 priſoners. Let St. Paul's, hermetically cloſed, have but a ſingle man in it. The Panopticon would continue a healthy building as long as it was a building: in St. Paul's the man would die at the end of a known time, as ſure as he was put there. *

In this one article we may ſee almoſt a half added to the expence in waſte. Ten feet from floor to ceiling, when leſs than ſeven feet would ſerve! When leſs than ſeven feet does ſerve, and ſerves to admiration. I am almoſt aſhamed of the eight feet I aſk: it is for the mere look's ſake that I aſk it. The Experiment has been tried: the reſult is known, though not ſo well known as it ought to be. Have the *hulks* ten feet of height? have they eight feet? have they ſeven? I look at Mr. Campbell's

hulks

* In the letter on Hoſpitals, the Reader may recollect what is ſaid in commendation of an idea of Dr. Marat's with reſpect to ventilation, and the form of conſtruction propoſed by him in conſequence. What he ſays is very juſt, as far as it goes: but the truth is, that ſo long as proper air holes are made, and proper means employed for determining the air to paſs through them, there is no form but may be made as ventilative and by that means as healthy as his. At that time I had never experienced the heart-felt ſatisfaction I have ſince enjoyed, of viſiting a London Hoſpital. I had not then ſeen either St. Thomas's or Guy's. I had no idea of the ſimple yet multiplied contrivances for enſuring an unremitted yet imperceptible change of air, nor the exquiſite purity and ſalubrity that is the reſult of them. If I had, I ſhould little have thought of ſending Engliſhmen to France, or any other country, for Hoſpital practice or theories of ventilation.

hulks, and to my utter aſtoniſhment I ſee that nobody dies there. In theſe receptacles of crowded wretchedneſs, deaths ſhould naturally be more copious than elſewhere. Inſtead of that, they are beyond compariſon leſs ſo.—I ſpeak from the Reports.——I know not the exact proportion: my ſearches and computations are not yet compleat: but as to ſo much I am certain. I ſpeak of the ordinary rate. Now and then indeed there comes a ſad mortality—Why?—becauſe where peſtilence has been imported, hulks neither do nor can afford the means of ſtopping it. But, bating peſtilences, men are immortal there. Among 200, 300, quarter after quarter, I look for deaths, and I find none.——Why?——becauſe Mr. Campbell is intelligent and careful, Pandora's cordials unknown there, and high ceilings of no uſe.

This experiment is new matter: it is no fault of the legiſlators of whom I ſpeak not to have made uſe of it. In their time it did not exiſt. How ſhould it? It was this very ſtatute of theirs that produced it. While they were building their Penitentiary-Caſtle with one hand, they little thought how with the other they were cutting the ground from under it. The information does exiſt now: the fault will be not theirs but that of their ſucceſſors, if, like the Wandſworth purchaſe, the knowledge thus acquired lies in waſte.

Mention

Mention not the mortalities; it is impoſſible they can have had the low ceilings for their cauſe. The mortalities have been rare: for theſe three or four years none: from that period immortality begins. Have the ceilings been higher ſince that time; Had Captain Cook ten feet, eight feet, ſeven feet between decks? Captain Cook, under whom in a voyage that embraced all the climates of the globe, out of 80 men not a ſingle one died in a ſpace of between four and five years:* out of 112 in the ſame time but five, nor of thoſe more than two in whom the ſeeds of death had not been ſown before their embarkation.

What was your National Penitentiary-houſe to have coſt?—£120,000.—*How many was it to have holden?*—960.—*What did your Liverpool Jail coſt? About* £28,000—*How many will that hold?*—270.—*What?*—*make the nation pay* £120 *for what you have done for* £100. *How comes that about?*—*How? why from the Act. The Act will have high ceilings*—*how could I lower them? The Act will have ſpacious rooms* — *how could I narrow them? The King was to pay for every thing: Every thing was accordingly to be upon a royal ſcale. At Liverpool it was otherwiſe: thoſe who ordered were to pay.*—Such was the purport of a converſation I had with Mr. Blackburn.

* Four years, two months and 22 days. See Cook's Voyage, Introduction.

END OF PART I.—POSTSCRIPT.

MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR:

OR,

A PLAN,

CONTAINING THE

PRINCIPLE AND CONSTRUCTION OF AN ESTABLISHMENT,
IN WHICH PERSONS OF ANY DESCRIPTION ARE
TO BE KEPT UNDER *INSPECTION.*

AND IN PARTICULAR

PENITENTIARY-HOUSES,	POOR-HOUSES,
PRISONS,	MANUFACTORIES,
HOUSES OF INDUSTRY,	MAD-HOUSES,
WORK-HOUSES,	HOSPITALS,

AND SCHOOLS.

WITH A PLAN OF MANAGEMENT.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

BY JEREMY BENTHAM,
OF *LINCOLN'S-INN*, ESQ.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.

DUBLIN:
JAMES MOORE.
1796.

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POSTSCRIPT.——PART II.

PRINCIPLES AND PLAN OF MANAGEMENT.

§ 1. *LEADING POSITIONS.*

THIS ſurely is no place for any thing like a compleat and regular ſyſtem of Priſon-management. Such an enterpriſe would have been above my ſtrength. It would have required opportunities which I have not poſſeſſed, and time more than at preſent can be ſpared.

A work of this kind is however ſtill to execute. Mr. Howard's publications preſent no ſuch work. They afford a rich fund of materials: but a quarry is not a houſe. No leading principles: no order: no connection. Rules, or hints for rules, in places which unleſs by reading the book through again, you can never find a ſecond time: recommendations, of which the reaſon is not very apparent, and for which no reaſon is given: ſome perhaps for which no ſufficient reaſon, if any, could be

given. My venerable friend was much better employed than in arranging words and ſentences. Inſtead of doing what ſo many could do if they would, what he did for the ſervice of mankind was what ſcarce any man could have done, and no man would do, but himſelf. In the ſcale of moral deſert, the labours of the legiſlator and the writer are as far below his, as earth is below heaven. His was the truly chriſtian choice: the lot, in which is to be found the leaſt of that which ſelfiſh nature covets, and the moſt of what it ſhrinks from. His kindom was of a better world: he died a martyr, after living an apoſtle.

To pleaſe every body is acknowledged to be in no inſtance a very eaſy taſk. There are perhaps few inſtances in which it is leſs ſo than this of penitentiary diſcipline. There are few ſubjects on which opinion is more under the ſway of powers that are out of the reach of reaſon. Different tempers preſcribe different meaſures of ſeverity and indulgence. Some forget that a convict in priſon is a ſenſitive being: others, that he is put there for puniſhment. Some grudge him every gleam of comfort or alleviation of miſery of which his ſituation is ſuſceptible. To others, every little privation, every little unpleaſant feeling, every unaccuſtomed circumſtance, every neceſſary point of coercive diſcipline, preſents matter for a charge of inhumanity.

In

In the midſt of theſe diſcordant ſentiments, this promiſcuous conflict, in which judgment and regulation are ſo apt to be led aſtray, ſometimes by the negligence of inſenſibility, ſometimes by the cruel anxiety of cowardice, ſometimes by the exceſs of tenderneſs, and now and then perhaps by the affectation of it, a few leading poſitions, if by good fortune any ſuch ſhould be to be found, to which men of no deſcription whatever, be their degree of judgment or caſt of temper what it may, ſhall find it eaſy to refuſe their aſſent, will not be without their uſe: unfortunately the application of thoſe principles will ſtill leave but too wide a field for uncertainty and variance. But even in caſe of variance it will be ſomething to have placed the queſtion upon clear ground, and to have rendered it manifeſt to every eye on what point it turns, whether the diſagreement is an irremediable one, or whether any means of putting an end to it may be hoped for from farther inveſtigation.

But in the firſt place, a ſummary view of the objects or ends proper to be kept in view in the planning of ſuch a ſyſtem may not be without its uſe. They may be thus diſtinguiſhed and arranged.

1. *Example*, or the preventing others by the terror of the example from the commiſſion of ſimilar

lar offences. This is the main end of all puniſhment, and conſequently of the particular mode here in queſtion.

2. Good behaviour of the Priſoners during their ſubjection to this puniſhment: in other words, *prevention of Priſon-offences* on the part of Priſoners.

3. *Preſervation of decency*: or prevention of ſuch practices in particular as would be offences againſt decency.

4. Prevention of undue hardſhips:—whether the reſult of deſign or negligence.

5. *Preſervation of health*, and the degree of *cleanlineſs* neceſſary to that end.

6. *Security againſt fire.*

7. *Safe cuſtody:* or the prevention of eſcapes, which as far as they obtain, fruſtrate the attainment of all the preceding ends.

8. *Proviſion for future ſubſiſtence:* i. e. for the ſubſiſtance of the Priſoners after the term of their puniſhment is expired.

9. *Proviſion*

9. *Proviſion for their future good behaviour:* or prevention of future offences, on the part of thoſe for whoſe former offences, this puniſhment is contrived. This is one of the objects that come under the head of *reformation.*

10. *Proviſion for religious inſtruction.* A ſecond article belonging to the head of *reformation.*

11. *Proviſion for intellectual inſtruction and improvement* in general. A third article belonging to the head of *reformation.*

12. *Proviſion for comfort:* i. e. for the allowance of ſuch preſent comforts as are not incompatible with the attainment of the above ends.

13. *Obſervance of economy:* or proviſion for reducing to its loweſt terms the expence hazarded for the attainment of the above ends.

14. *Maintenance of ſubordination:* i. e. on the part of the under officers and ſervants, as towards the manager in chief, a point on the accompliſhment of which depends the attainment of the ſeveral preceding ends. No one of theſe objects but was kept in view throughout the contrivance of the building: none of them that ought to be loſt ſight of in the contrivance of the plan of management. The management was indeed the end: the conſtruction

ſtruction of the building, but one amongſt a variety of means, though that the principal one.

I may perhaps ſubjoin in the way of recapitulation, a general *table of ends and means:* a tabular view of the ſeveral expedients employed or ſuggeſted for the attainment of the above ends.

In the mean time this ſummary enumeration of the ends themſelves may ſerve to direct our attention and afford us ſome guidance in judging of the propoſed expedients as they preſent themſelves: and incidently of the regulations and expedients that have been eſtabliſhed or recommended by others, either with a view to the ſame ends, or at leaſt with relation to the ſame ſubject.

From the different courſes taken in the purſuits of theſe ſeveral ends or ſome of them, errors have been adopted, by which the lot of the perſons devoted to this puniſhment has been affected in oppoſite ways: the treatment leaning in ſome inſtances too far on the ſide of ſeverity: in others, too far on the ſide of lenity and indulgence. It is for the correction and prevention of ſuch errors that the three following rules are propoſed, to ſerve as guides, in the purſuit of the above enumerated ends. Theſe are the leading poſitions above alluded to. Should their propriety be admitted, there is not a ſingle corner of the management

ment in which their utility will not be recognized.

1. *Rule of Lenity.*

The ordinary condition of a convict doomed to forced labour for a length of time, ought not to be attended with bodily ſufferance, or prejudicial or dangerous to health or life *.

2. *Rule of Severity.*

Saving the regard due to life, health, and bodily eaſe, the ordinary condition of a convict doomed to a puniſhment which few or none but individuals of the pooreſt claſs are apt to incur, ought not to be made more eligible than that of the pooreſt claſs of ſubjects in a ſtate of innocence and liberty.

3. *Rule of Economy.*

Saving the regard due to life, health, bodily eaſe, proper inſtruction, and future proviſion, economy ought in every point of management to be the prevalent conſideration. No public expence ought to be incurred, or profit or ſaving rejected, for the ſake either of puniſhment or of indulgence.

Propoſitions of ſuch latitude may be thought to require a few words of explanation: propoſitions of

* The qualification applied by the epithet *ordinary*, and the words *length of time*, ſeemed neceſſary to make room for an exception in favour of temporary puniſhment for Priſon-offences, at the expence of bodily eaſe.

of ſuch importance may require ſomething to be ſaid in the way of juſtification. The precaution is not ſuperfluous. The reader who feels himſelf intereſted in the ſubject would do well to ſcrutinize them. It is but fair he ſhould have this warning. For if theſe are really fit to compoſe a teſt, no plan of management has yet been either purſued or propoſed, that will abide it.

Injuries to health and bodily eaſe are apt to reſult principally from either that part of the management which concerns *maintenance*, or that which concerns *employment*. The ſupply for maintenance may be defective in quantity, or improper in quality. The labour exacted in the courſe of the employment may be improper in quality, or exceſſive in quantity.

What muſt not be forgotten is, that in a ſtate of confinement, all hardſhips which the management does not preſerve a man from, it inflicts on him.

The articles of ſupply neceſſary to preſerve a man from death, ill health, or bodily ſufferance, ſeem to be what are commonly meant by the *neceſſaries of life*. The ſupplies of this kind with which, according to the rule of lenity, every ſuch Priſoner ought to be furniſhed, and that in the quantity requiſite to obviate thoſe ill conſequences, may be included under the following heads:

1. Food.

1. Food, and that in as great a quantity as he deſires.

2. Cloathing at all times in ſufficient quality and quantity to keep him from ſuffering by cold, with change ſufficient for the purpoſes of cleanlineſs.

3. During the cold ſeaſon, firing or warmed air ſufficient to mitigate the ſeverity of the weather.

4. In caſe of ſickneſs, proper medicine, diet, and medical attendance.

5. In the way of precaution againſt ſickneſs, the means of cleanlineſs in ſuch nature and proportion as ſhall be ſufficient to afford a compleat ſecurity againſt all danger on that ſcore.

The reaſons againſt inflicting hardſhips affecting the health, and ſuch privations as are attended with long-continued bodily ſufferance, are.

1. That being unconſpicuous they contribute nothing to the main end of puniſhment, which is example.

2. That being protracted or liable to be protracted through the whole of a long and indefinite period, filling the whole meaſure of it with unre-

 mitted

mitted miſery, they are inordinately ſevere: and that not only in compariſon with the demand for puniſhment, but in compariſon with other puniſhments which are looked upon as being, and are intended to be, of a ſuperior degree.

3. That they are liable to affect and ſhorten life, amounting thereby to capital puniſhment in effect, though without the name.

Puniſhments operating in abridgment of life through the medium of their prejudicial influence with regard to health are improper, whether intended or not on the part of the legiſlator. In the latter caſe, the executive officer who ſubjects a man to ſuch a fate without an expreſs warrant from the Judge, or the Judge who does ſo without an expreſs authority from the legiſlator, appoints death where the legiſlator has appointed no ſuch puniſhment, and incurs the guilt of unjuſtifiable homicide, to ſay no worſe of it.

If intended on the part of the legiſlature they are liable to the following objections.

1. They are ſevere to exceſs, and that to a degree beyond intention as well as proportion. Stiled leſs than capital, they are in fact capital, and much more: the reſult of them being not ſimple and ſpeedy death, as in the inſtances where death is appointed

appointed under that name, but death accompanied and preceded by lingering torture.

2. They are unequal: cauſing men to ſuffer, not in proportion to the enormity of their offences, either real or ſuppoſed, but in proportion to a circumſtance entirely foreign to that conſideration: viz. their greater or leſs capacity of enduring the hardſhips without being ſubjected to the fatal conſequence.

Food is the grand article. It is the great hinge on which the economy of ſupply turns. It is the great rock on which frugality and humanity are apt to ſplit. Food ought not to be limited in quantity for this reaſon:—Draw the line where you will, if you draw it to any purpoſe, the puniſhment becomes unequal. Unequal puniſhment is either defective or exceſſive: it may be in both caſes at once: but in one or the other it cannot but be. In the preſent inſtance the ſole reſult of the inequality is exceſs: ſo many as the allowance fails to ſatisfy, ſo many are ſubjected to an additional burthen of puniſhment foreign to the deſign. Draw the line where you will, you can never draw it right: uſeleſs or improper is the only alternative: it is only in proportion as humanity loſes that frugality can gain by it. Pinch many and thoſe hard, your line is proportionally unequal and unjuſt

unjuſt: pinch few and thoſe but ſlightly, what you ſave is but little, and you ſerve Mammon for ſmall wages. The inequality is all ſheer injuſtice: it has no reſpect at all to conduct: the puniſhment proportions itſelf, not to the degree of a man's delinquency, but to the keenneſs of his appetite. It is not the injuſtice of a day nor of a week, but of whole years: and the weight of it rather accumulates than diminiſhes by time. As the quantity of food deſired by a man living in other reſpects in the ſame manner is pretty much the ſame, if the meaſure falls conſiderably ſhort of any man's deſires any one day, ſo will it every other; as his hunger would not ceaſe even at the concluſion of his meal, much leſs will it during any part of the interval betwixt meal and meal: the conſequence is, that the whole meaſure of his exiſtence is filled up with a ſtate of unremitted, not to ſay encreaſing ſufferance.

I have diſtinguiſhed this mode of producing ſufferance from an injury to health, merely not to ſtrain words: but the difference is but in words. If a man experiences a conſtant gnawing of the ſtomach, what difference is it to him whether it comes from improper food or from want of food? If a conſtant ſhivering, what matters it whether from an ague or from want of fire?

By

By this violation of the law of lenity true economy does not gain near ſo much as at firſt ſight might appear. That a man who is ill fed, will not work ſo well as a man who is well fed, is allowed by every body. But the great cauſe that prevents economy from gaining by this penury is, that what is graſped with one hand is ſquandered with the other. Thoſe who limit the quantity of food, neither confine the quality to the leaſt palatable, which is in a double point of view the cheapeſt ſort, nor avoid variety and change. Provocations are thus adminiſtered while ſatisfaction is denied: and what is ſaved by pinching the ſtomach is thrown away in tickling the palate. Make it a rule to furniſh nothing but of the very cheapeſt ſort, and if there ſhould be two ſorts equally cheap, to confine the men to one, you need not fear their eating too much. Every man will be ſatisfied: no man will be feaſted, no man will be ſtarved.

This abundance will be no violation of the rule of ſeverity. The lot of delinquents will not be raiſed above that of the innocent at large, except in as far as the latter is ſunk below the ordinary level by accidental imprudence or misfortune. All men in a ſtate of innocence and liberty do not in fact enjoy a full ſupply of neceſſaries. True: but there are none but what might, if they would diſpenſe with luxuries. The deficiencies produced

produced by accidental misfortune are ſupplied by public bounty: and, bating ſuch accidents, the wages of labour, at the loweſt rate known in the three kingdoms are ſuch as will leave nothing to deſire on the head of real neceſſaries*. To the extent of their means the pooreſt enjoy at any rate the liberty of chooſing.

This economy will be no violation of the rule of lenity: though ſuperfluous gratification be ſo far denied, no bodily ſufferance is produced. The privation is not carried beyond the bounds which the rule of ſeverity preſcribes. While ſo many honeſt men fail of being ſatisfied in quantity, why ſhould criminals be indulged in quality?†

Nor

* See this abundantly proved by Dr. A. Smith in the Wealth of Nations.

† The privation, there is reaſon to think, is much more apparent than real. At the utmoſt it can amount to no more than the loſs of ſuch part of the gratification as depends on reliſh: that which depends upon appetite remains untouched, being inſeparable from the ſatisfaction of the demands of nature. This latter part is perhaps the more conſiderable: nor is the loſs incurred on the other ſcore ſuſtained without an indemnification. In the purſuit of that part of the gratification which depends on reliſh, a great part of that which depends on appetite is habitually given up. Eating oftener or more than they need, men eat with ſo much the leſs appetite. The poor give up one part of the gratification, the rich another. Whether the poor ſuſtain any habitual loſs even in point of reliſh is after all not altogether clear. The loſs of the enjoyment of occaſional feaſting is perhaps the only real loſs ſuſtained. In this too the poor are but upon a par with the richeſt claſs of all. Food affords a feaſt to thoſe only to whom it is rare: thoſe who appear to feaſt always never feaſt at all.

Nor does the rule of ſeverity exclude a certain meaſure even of ſuper-neceſſary gratification. The rule of economy, as we ſhall ſee, not only admits but neceſſitates the calling in the principle of reward: and reward might loſe its animating quality, if it were debarred from ſhewing itſelf in a ſhape ſo inviting to vulgar eyes. Nor when all the luxury that economy can ſtand in need of is thus admitted, need there be any apprehenſion left the rule of ſeverity ſhould be violated by the admiſſion, and the lot of labouring Priſoners be rendered too deſirable. The irkſomeneſs of the ſituation ſtrikes every eye: the alleviations to it ſteal in unobſerved.

Puniſhments affecting health, or life, by impoſing on men the obligation of exerciſing any employment injurious in that way, are productive of the collateral inconvenience of impoſing hardſhip on innocent men, by holding up the occupation they follow in an ignominious point of view, and diſpoſing them to be diſcontented with their lot.

An occupation of this nature will hardly be impoſed, but under the notion of cauſing to be done for the community ſomething or other which would not be done for it at all, or at leaſt not ſo well

all. Confinement to the leaſt palateable kind of food ſo far then from being too ſevere a puniſhment, would be no puniſhment at all, were it not for ſome antecedent experience of better fare. What puniſhment is it to the Hindoo to be forbidden roaſt beef, or to be confined to rice? How many diſhes are coveted by the rich that would be ſpurned at by the poor?

well or not ſo cheap, otherwiſe. But no occupation of that tendency can be aſſigned, which would not be, and if the law permits, is not already, embraced by a ſufficient number of free individuals; who being paid what in their inſtance and according to their eſtimation is an equivalent, carry it on by choice. Whether the work done by compulſion, is done upon the whole cheaper for its goodneſs than the work done voluntarily, is as it may be: but what is certain is, that thoſe who ſubmitted to it without regarding it as a hardſhip, find it converted to their prejudice into a hardſhip which it was not before.

As to the rude of economy, its abſolute importance is great, its relative importance ſtill greater. The very exiſtence of the ſyſtem, the chance I ſhould ſay, which the ſyſtem has for exiſtence, depends upon it. That in all other points of view this mode of employing criminals is preferable to any other, ſeems hardly to be diſputed: but what men are afraid of is the expence. Let the rule of economy be ſteadily ſubmitted to and prudently turned to account, frugality will gain as much by the Penitentiary ſyſtem as every other end of puniſhment.

In ſuch a ſituation, whatever expence is incurred, or ſaving foregone, for the mere purpoſe of adding to the ſeverity of the puniſhment, is ſo much abſolutely thrown away. For the ways in which

which any quantity of ſufferance may be inflicted without any expence are eaſy and innumerable. Inſtances of this waſte have been already ſeen in a preceding ſection:* more will be found in a ſucceeding one.†

The meaſure of puniſhment preſcribed by the rule of ſeverity and not forbidden by the rule of lenity being aſcertained, the rule of economy points out as the beſt mode of adminiſtering it, the impoſing ſome coercion which ſhall produce profit, or the ſubtracting ſome enjoyment which would require expence.

* See Part I. § 24. § *Employment.*

§ 2. *MANAGEMENT*——

In what Hands, and on what Terms.

ECONOMY, it has been already ſhewn, ſhould be the ruling object. But in economy every thing depends upon the hands and upon the *terms*. In what hands then?—Upon what terms? Theſe are the two grand points to be adjuſted: and that before any thing is ſaid about regulations.—Why?—Becauſe as far as economy is concerned, upon thoſe points depends, as we ſhall ſee, the demand for regulations. Adopt the contract plan, regulations in this view are a nuiſance: be there ever ſo few of them, there will be too many. Reject it, be there ever ſo many of them, they will be too few.

Contract-management, or *truſt-management?* If truſt-management, management by an *individual* or by a *Board?* Under theſe diviſions every poſſible diſtinct ſpecies of management may be included. You can have nothing different from them unleſs by mixing them.—In an economical concern like this, contract-management, ſay I: Board-management ſays the act. Which ſays right?—I.—Who ſays ſo?—The Act itſelf.—A principle is laid down:

down: I adopt it.—Regulations are made: they violate it. What is the conſequence? Error upon error, as well as inconſiſtency. Error in preferring truſt-management to contract management: error in preferring board-management to truſt-management in ſingle hands. Error in oppoſite ſhapes, both embraced at the ſame time. Truſt-management appointed where nothing but contract-management was tolerable: Contract-management preferred in the inſtance where, if in any, truſt-management might have been harmleſs and of uſe.

By whom then, ſhall we ſay, ought a buſineſs like this to be carried on?——By one who has an intereſt in the ſucceſs of it, or by one who has none?—By one who has a greater intereſt in it, or by one who has an intereſt not ſo great?—By one who takes loſs as well as profit, or by one who takes profit without loſs?—By one who has no profit but in proportion as he manages well, or by one who, let him manage ever ſo well or ever ſo ill, ſhall have the ſame emolument ſecured to him? Theſe ſeem to be the proper queſtions for our guides. Where ſhall we find the anſwers?—In the queſtions themſelves, and in the Act.

To join intereſt with duty, and that by the ſtrongeſt cement that can be found, is the object

to

to which they point. To join intereſt with duty, is the object avowed to be aimed at by the Act. The emolument of the Governor is to be proportioned in a certain way to the ſucceſs of the management. Why?—that it may be "*his intereſt*" to make a ſucceſsful buſineſs of it—"*as well as his* "*duty*."* How then is it made his intereſt? Is he to take loſs as well as profit?—No: nor that neither: but a part only, and that as ſmall a part as gentlemen ſhall pleaſe. Well—but he is to receive none, however, if he makes none? Oh yes—as much profit, and that as ſecure an one as gentlemen may think fit to make it. He may have ever ſo large a ſhare of any profit he makes, or ever ſo ſmall a ſhare, and whether he makes any or none, he may have a ſalary, all the ſame. Let him get as much as he will, or get as little as he will, or loſe as much as he will, or waſte as much as he will, he is to have a ſalary for it, and in all theſe caſes the ſame ſalary, if they pleaſe. All this in the ſame ſection and the ſame ſentence which lays down the junction of intereſt with duty as a fundamental principle.

And whom does the management depend upon after all? Upon this Governor? Upon the man in whoſe breaſt this important junction is to be formed?

* 19 Geo. III. chap. 74. § 18.

ed?—Oh, no:—upon a quite different ſet of people: upon a Committee. And who are this Committee? —A ſet of truſtees, three in number, who would be turned out with infamy, if they were found to have the ſmalleſt particle of what is here meant by *intereſt* in the whole concern. *They* are the perſons to manage, they are the perſons to contrive: they are the perſons to work: the Governor with his magnificent title is to be their tool to work with. Upon them every thing is to depend: upon his Excellency nothing: He is their journeyman: they are to put him in, they are to turn him out, and turn him out when they pleaſe. Three "gentlemen, or other "creditable, and ſubſtantial perſons,"* who are to come now and then, once in a *fortnight* or ſo,† as it ſuits them, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, when they have nothing elſe to do, theſe are the people who are to govern: the perſon who is to be nailed to the buſineſs, and to think of nothing elſe, the perſon upon whoſe ſhoulders the whole charge of it is to lie, the Governor *a non gubernando, ut lucus a non lucendo,* is to be a puppet in their hands. As to *their* doing their duty, how that is to be brought about ſeems not to have been much thought of. He however is to do his: that he may be ſure to do it, it is to be made his intereſt: that it may be his intereſt, he is to have a motive given him for doing it, and that

* § 15. † § 45.

that motive is to be a "*profit*," he is to have "*upon the work*." This profit, what is it then to depend upon?—Upon *his* exertions?—No: it is to be fixed by the Committee: and whether when fixed it ſhall amount to any thing, is to depend upon *their* management: upon their wiſdom, their diligence and their good pleaſure.

Power and inclination beget action: unite them, the end is accompliſhed, the buſineſs done. To effect this union in each inſtance is the great art and the great ſtudy of Government.—How ſtand they here?—Inſtead of their being brought together, they are kept at arms length. Power is lodged in one place, inclination in another: as to their ever coming together, if they do they muſt find the way to one another as they can. The Committee, with the inducements given to the Governor, might have done tolerably: the Governor with the power given to the Committee, better ſtill.—Which of theſe plans is purſued?—Neither. The Governor, thanks to the pains that have been thus taken with him, has all the inclination in the world to make good management of it: but as to the power it is none of his. The Committee have power in plenty: but as to inducements to give them inclination, they have none. At leaſt if they have any, it is not for any thing the Act has done to give it them: if they have any, it is to bounti-

ful

ful nature they are indebted for it, and to themſelves. Taking ſuch oppoſite courſes, can the Act be right in both?—I don't ſee how.—If it is not redundant in the one inſtance, it is deficient in the other. Sir Kenelm Digby invented a ſympathetic powder: applied to one body, it was to cure wounds in another. The preſcription here proceeds upon the ſame principle. Money is put into the hand of the ſervant, called a *Governor:* and the reward thus applied is to operate upon the affections, and determine the conduct, of the maſters—the Committee. Under ſuch a conſtitution upon what does the chance it leaves for good economy depend?—Upon the Governor's writing orders for himſelf, and *their* ſigning them: upon their being penſioned by him, or acting as if they were.

When I ſpoke of their having the power, all I meant was, that what power is given, ſuch as it is, is in their hands. But it is a power big with impotence.—What is to be the number of this Committee? Three, and three only. What if one of them ſhould be ill, or indolent, or out of they way, or out of humour, and the two others ſhould not agree? What is to be done then? Nothing.—What then is to become of the eſtabliſhment?—It is to go to ruin. The priſoners are to ſit with their hands before them and ſtarve. For not a handful

handful of hemp, no, nor a morſel of bread can the Governor buy or agree for, without the Committee. (§ 21.) *Oh, but any two may act*, ſays the ſtatute, *without the other.*—Yes that they may, and how is it to be done? The two who by the ſuppoſition can't agree, are to agree which of them ſhall be Chairman, in order that there may be one of them who ſhall have every thing his own way.* For ſuch is the conſtitution of this Committee: an Aſſembly of two, one of them with a caſting voice.

If two heads, while they remain two heads, cannot govern the ſmalleſt houſehold, what will they do in ſo large a one? If diviſion begets confuſion in a family of three, what muſt it do in a family of thrice three hundred?

The complication was not yet thick enough. Clouds are heaped upon clouds: all to give ſhade and perfection to economy. I ſhall not however ſpend many words upon the orders and regulations that were to be made, all for the benefit of this infant plant by a legiſlature compoſed of three eſtates; the governing Committee, the Juſtices of the peace in quarter ſeſſions, and the Judges of aſſize, or if in Middleſex, of the King's Bench: of whom the Judges of aſſize, were to liſten to plans of houſ-hold

* § 15.

hold and mercantile management with one ear, while they were trying cauſes with the other, in a country through which they were riding poſt.—*Oh no, no:—it's your miſtake—It was not to meddle with economy that the Judges were called in: it was to check cruelty, to prevent negligence, to reſtrain miſchievous indulgence, to enforce good morals.*——I do *not* miſtake. It was for economy and for nothing elſe. Had the Hulks Committees to regulate for them, or Juſtices of the Peace to check the Committees, or Judges to check the Juſtices? Were the hulks more exempt from danger of cruelty, or negligence, or partiality, or corrupt indulgence, or bad morals?—No: but on board the Hulks there was no economy to nurſe: ſo that Courts of quarter ſeſſions, and Judges of aſſize, and Courts of King's Bench would there have been of no uſe.

But are not there eſtabliſhments of a ſimilar nature actually governed by multitudes? Yes, plenty: but why?—becauſe the multitudes, though ſuch in ſhew, are in effect reduced to one. So far as the multiplicity has its effect, it does miſchief, and miſchief it continually is doing: ſo far as it has no effect, it does none. The colleagues joſtle and joſtle, till they find out which of them is the ſtrongeſt; the buſineſs goes on, when, like the ſerpent rods, one of them has ſwallowed up the reſt.

Sometimes, if the power be large enough to cut into ſhares, the battle ends by compromiſe: what was given in coparcenary, is uſed in ſeveralty: and as nature will ſometimes repair the errors of the phyſician, compact furniſhes a palliative for the weakneſs of the law.

From ſuch a conſtitution what could have been expected?—What has happened. A Committee is appointed, and the firſt and only thing they do is to quarrel. The Act for building the houſe paſſed in 1779: we are now in 1791, and ſtill there is no houſe. They quarrelled before the firſt ſtone was laid, and before it was agreed where it ſhould be laid: they quarrelled about that very queſtion. But there could not have been a ſtone laid but what would have been juſt as capable of raiſing a quarrel as the firſt. No, nor a barrel of flour been to be bought, nor a bundle of hemp, nor a petticoat, nor a pair of breeches. The conſtitution being ſuch as it was, the happineſs was that it ſhewed itſelf ſo ſoon. Better the project ſhould ſtop, as it did, as ſoon as the ground was bought, than after £120,000 had been ſpent in covering it, and perhaps as much more in ſtocking it. *Oh, but it was by accident that it ſtopped*—no—it was not by accident—it was by the nature of things.—You have ſeen it was—it would have been by accident if it had gone on.

And

And does not management of all kinds go, and go on very well, in *partnerſhip?* To be ſure it does. Why? — Becauſe common intereſt either keeps men together or ſeparates them in time. Agreeing, they caſt their parts and divide the buſineſs between them as they find convenient: diſagreeing, they can part at any time. Neceſſity compels the ſeparation: ruin is the penalty of refuſal.—How is it with a ſet of unintereſted board-managers like the Committee? Going, they loſe every thing: ſtaying, they loſe nothing—whatever comes of the truſt.

Economy has two grand enemies: *peculation* and *negligence*. Truſt-management leaves the door open to both: Contract-management ſhuts it againſt both. Negligence it renders peculiarly improbable: peculation, impoſſible.

To peculate is to obtain, to the prejudice of the truſt, a profit which it is not intended a man ſhould have. But upon the contract plan, the intention and the declared intention is, that the Contractor ſhall have every profit that can be made. Does * the truſt loſe any thing by this conceſſion? no: for

* This is to be underſtood only in as far as profit and loſs is the avowed object. As to ſacrificing to ſchemes of profit ſome other of the ends in view, ſuch as good morals, proper ſeverity, or proper indulgence, it forms a ſeparate conſideration, and will be ſpoken of in its place.

for it makes him pay for it before hand. Does he pay nothing or not enough? The fault lies, not in the contract plan in general, but in the terms of the particular contract that happens to be made: not in the principle, but in the application.

As to negligence, to ſtate the queſtion is to decide it. Of whoſe affairs is a man leaſt apt and leaſt likely to be negligent? another's, or his own?

Economy being put under the guardianſhip of contract-management, what more is it in the power of man to do for it? It has the joint ſupport of the principles of reward and puniſhment, both acting with their utmoſt force, and both acting of themſelves, without waiting for the ſlow and unſteady hand of law. What the Manager gains ſtays with him in the ſhape of reward: whatever is loſt falls upon him in the ſhape of puniſhment. In this way, public economy has at leaſt all the ſupport and ſecurity that private can ever have.

It has more. It has a ſupport peculiar to itſelf — publicity: and that in every ſhape: at leaſt it may have, and as we have ſeen already, ought to have*. To publiſh his management a man muſt attend to it: and the more particular he is obliged to be in his publication, the more particularly he muſt attend to

* Letters IX and XII.

it. What ſafeguard is there in private management that can compare to this?—It is not in human nature to go on for a length of time in a courſe of notorious miſmanagement and loſs. A man could not help ſeeing it of himſelf: and if he could, the public would not let him. He muſt mend his management or quit the ſcene. Falſe accounts he could not publiſh: what hope could he have of keeping the falſhood from diſcovery? The attempt to conceal miſ-management in this way would coſt more trouble than to avoid it. To enable the public to look at his accounts, a man muſt look at them himſelf. No man travels quietly on in the road to ruin with the picture of it before his eyes. When a man fails through indolence or negligence, it is becauſe he keeps no accounts, or has not the heart to look at them. There is little danger that a man choſen for ſuch a ſituation ſhould publiſh accounts that were imperfect or confuſed: it would be a confeſſion of incapacity or fraud: if there were, a form might be preſcribed to him; and a form exhibited by the firſt contractor and approved of by the public, would be as a law to his ſucceſſors. They might make it more inſtructive, they would not dare to make it leſs ſo.

Economy, I have ſaid, ſhouldbe the leading object: and it is principally becauſe the contract plan is the moſt favourable to economy, that it is ſo much

ſuperior

ſuperior to every other plan for this kind of priſon management. But turn the ſubject all round, view it in what lights you will, you will not find any on which the contract plan is not at leaſt upon a par with truſt-management, even in its leaſt exceptionable form. Economy out of the queſtion, turn to the other *ends* which a ſyſtem of priſon management ought to have in view.—In which of all thoſe inſtances is a contracting manager more in danger of failing than an unintereſted one? Turn to the two other *rules* that have been put in in a line with that of *economy*, and in the infringement of which, in ſome way or other, every ſpecies of miſmanagement in ſuch a ſituation may be compriſed—which of them is a contractor, with the guards upon him that we have ſeen, more likely to infringe than a manager who has no pecuniary intereſt at ſtake? In every one of theſe points we ſhall find the probity of the unintereſted truſtee expoſed to ſeductions from which that of the contractor is free: that of the latter armed with ſecurities with which that of the former, if provided, is not provided in the ſame degree. What I allude to is popular jealouſy: but of that a little farther on. Turn to the *motives* which a man in this ſituation can find for paying attention to his duty. In the inſtance of the unintereſted manager what can they be?—Love of power, love of novelty, love of reputation, public ſpirit, benevolence—

But

But what is there of all this that may not juſt as well have fallen to the contractor's ſhare? Does the acceſſion of a new motive deſtroy all thoſe that act on the ſame ſide? Love of power may be a ſleepy affection: regard to pecuniary intereſt is more or leſs awake in every man. Public ſpirit is but too apt to cool: love of novelty is ſure to cool: attention to pecuniary intereſt grows but the warmer with age.

Among unfit things there are degrees of unfitneſs. As truſt-management is, in every form it can put on, ineligible in compariſon of contract-management, ſo among different modifications of truſt-management is board-management in compariſon of management in ſingle hands. When I ſpeak of ſingle-handed management as the better of the two, I mean it in this ſenſe only, that, by proper ſecurities it may be made better than the other is capable of being made by any means. Pecuniary ſecurity againſt embezzlement: publicity in all its ſhapes, againſt peculation and negligence. In board-management, danger of diſſention, want of unity of plan, ſlowneſs and unſteadineſs in execution, are inbred diſeaſes which do not admit of cure.

When ſingle management has given cauſe for complaints, it has been only on account of ſome accidental concomitant, or for want of thoſe effectual checks

checks of which it is in every inſtance ſuſceptible.

A manager has in his hands large ſums of public money more than are neceſſary for the ſervice. Is this the fault of ſingle management? No: but of the negligence of the law, which leaves ſo much public money in private hands. A manager holding public money in a quantity not more than ſufficient embezzles it. Is this the fault of ſingle management? No: but of thoſe who let him have it without account, or without ſecurity.

Can theſe guards or any guards ever put unintereſted management even in ſingle hands upon a par with intereſted? Never: till human nature is new made. They will prevent peculation; they will prevent groſs negligence: they may prevent all ſuch negligence as is ſuſceptible of detection. Will they ſcrew up diligence and ingenuity to their higheſt pitch? Never while man is man: a man himſelf can never know what he could get, unleſs the profit is his own. What a man has got and pocketed, or thrown away, you may puniſh him for: can you puniſh him for the extra profit which, for want of a peculiar meaſure of induſtry and ingenuity, ſuch as the genial influence of reward could alone have inſpired him with, he failed of getting!—*Good* and *bad* are terms of compariſon.

Be

Be your management ever ſo thrifty, or ever ſo productive, you can never know which epithet it deſerves till you have ſeen it in intereſted hands. Till then you have no ſtandard to compare it to. Good in compariſon of what it has been, it may be bad in compariſon of what it might be.

The advantages of the contract mode over both the others are not yet at an end. Along with unintereſted management goes a ſalary. This is at leaſt a natural arrangement, and under the prevailing habits and modes of thinking, the only probable one. This ſalary is ſo much thrown away. *And will not a contractor equally require payment?* Doubtleſs: but where will he look for it? To the fruits of his own induſtry, not of other mens. The difference in point of productiveneſs between management with and management without intereſt, is the fund he draws upon for his ſalary, and there needs no other.

I ſaid *thrown away;* but it is worſe than thrown away. It is ſo much thrown into the treaſury of corruption; otherwiſe called the ſtock of influence. Whether in the Britiſh conſtitution the quantity of that ſtock requires diminiſhing, has been matter of debate: that it is in any need of encreaſe, ſeems never to have been ſo much as inſinuated.

In this reſpect, if truſt management in ſingle hands is bad, board-management is worſe. It is worſe in proportion to the number of the members. Though the ſalary and conſequently the waſte ſhould be no greater in this caſe than the other, the influence and conſequently the means of corruption is abundantly ſo. One man with three hundred a year is but one placeman: a board of three with three hundred a year amongſt them makes three placemen: each with a train of contingent remainder men at his heels, all equally upon their knees to influence. In political corruption as in phyſical, to every maſs of ſubſtantial putridity you have an indefinite ſphere of equally putrid vapour. *And do not contracts make influence as well as places?*—Not if made as they ought to be and might be. The contractor's dependence is on the advantageouſneſs of his offer: the placeman's on the intereſt he can make with the diſtributors of good things.

Salary, according to the uſual meaning of the word, that is, pay given by the year, and not by the day of attendance, ſo far from ſtrengthening the connection between intereſt and duty, weakens it: and the larger the more it weakens it. That which a ſalary really gives a man motives for doing is the taking upon him the office: that which it does not give him any ſort of motive for, is the diligent performance of its duties.

It

It gives him motives, if one may ſay ſo, for the non-performance of them: and thoſe the ſtronger the more there is of it. It gives him pleaſurable occupations to which thoſe laborious ones are ſacrificed: it ſets him above his buſineſs: it puts him in the way of diſſipation, and furniſhes him with the means. Make it large enough, the firſt thing he does is to look out for a deputy: and then it is what the principal gives the deputy, not what you give the principal, that cauſes the buſineſs in any way to be done:

In the inſtance of the contracting manager, the greater the ſucceſs of the management, the ſtronger the motive he has to do his utmoſt to encreaſe it. In this inſtance the emolument is in reality a reward: in that of the placeman, only in name. In the latter caſe, the ſervice with which the emolument is connected is, not the ſucceſsful performance of the buſineſs, but the mere act of undertaking it.

This is not all. Salary, in proportion to its magnitude, not only tends to make a man who happens to be fit for his buſineſs leſs and leſs fit, but it tends to give you in the firſt inſtance an unfit man rather than a fit one. The higher it is, the nearer it brings the office within the appetite and the graſp of the hunters after ſinecures: thoſe ſpoilt children

children of fortune, the pages of the miniſter and of every miniſter, who for having been born rich claim to be made richer, whoſe merit is in their wealth while their title is in their neceſſities, and whoſe pride is as much above buſineſs as their abilities are below it.

If you could get a manager for nothing, though he will ſerve you leſs badly than if he had a ſalary, he will not ſerve you ſo well as a contractor. What he gains or ſaves may be an amuſement, but what he loſes or fails to gain will be no loſs to him. From his deſiring the ſituation without ſalary what is certain is, that he loves the power: what is not certain is, that he loves the buſineſs: ſhould the work at any time be too heavy for him he can ſhift it off upon any body, the power remaining where it was. From his liking the buſineſs while it is a new thing, it does not follow that he will continue to like it when the novelty of it is worn away. From his retaining the ſituation when he has got it, it does not follow that he likes the buſineſs of it, or that he likes any buſineſs: for the giving it up would require an effort and the retaining it requires none. The chance of extraordinary profit (I mean with reference to truſt-management, for with reference to common mercantile management it is but ordinary) is upon the ſame inferior footing as before: and ſo is the ſecurity againſt poſitive

loſs,

loſs, whether reſulting from negligence or peculation. In the nature of things is it poſſible that a man who has no intereſt in the buſineſs ſhould be as much attached to it, as zealous to make it ſucceed, as one whoſe all depends upon it?

The unpaid as well as unintereſted manager ſtands behind all others on another account. The more confidence a man is likely to meet with the leſs he is likely to deſerve. Jealouſy is the life and ſoul of government. Tranſparency of management is certainly an immenſe ſecurity: but even tranſparency is of no avail without eyes to look at it. Other things equal, that ſort of man whoſe conduct is likely to be the moſt narrowly watched, is therefore the propereſt man to chooſe. The contractor is thus circumſtanced in almoſt every line of management: he is ſo more particularly in the preſent. Every contractor is a child of Mammon: a contracting manager of the poor is a blood-ſucker, a Vampire: a contracting jailor, a contracting manager of the impriſoned and friendleſs poor, againſt whom juſtice has ſhut the door of ſympathy, muſt be the cruelleſt of Vampires. The unpaid as well as unintereſted manager is of all ſorts of managers the moſt oppoſite to him who is the object of this diſtinguiſhed jealouſy: He expects and receives confidence proportionable: though on ſeveral accounts not entitled, as we have

have ſeen, to ſo much, he enjoys more. A man who in a ſtation ſo uninviting has the generoſity to ſerve for nothing, while others who occupy the moſt flattering ſituations are ſo well paid for it, will aſſume to himſelf accordingly, and make in other reſpects his own terms: Unleſs the honour of ſerving the public *gratis* were generally put up to auction, a plan never yet propoſed, nor the more likely to be adopted for being propoſed, this muſt always be the caſe. Standing upon the vantage ground of diſintereſtedneſs, he looks down accordingly, upon the public, and holds with it this dialogue. Gentleman Manager. *I am a gentleman: I do your buſineſs for nothing: you are obliged to me.*—Public. *So we are.*—Gentleman Manager. *Do you mind me?—I am to get nothing by this: I deſpiſe money:—I have a right to confidence.*—Public. *So you have.*—Gentleman Manager. *Very well then—Leave me to myſelf—Never you mind me—I'll manage every thing as it ſhould be—I don't want looking after. Don't you put yourſelves to the trouble.*—Public. *No more we will.*—What is the fruit of all this good underſtanding? Frequently negligence: not unfrequently peculation*. Peculation, where it happens

* It was but t'other day that a very reſpectable ſociety, inſtituted for the moſt benevolent of purpoſes, loſt in this way more than half its funds. They were in a ſingle hand.—Board-management would have ſaved them.—Is board-management therefore neceſſary?—By no means. The man in whoſe hands they were

pens is not liked: but of what is loſt by negligence no account is taken. So good are the public, and

were lodged had nothing of his own: no pecuniary ſecurity had been required of him. Legal powers were wanting.—No authority to examine him: no court to ſummon him to. He would give in no accounts: perhaps he had kept none. What he had to give: fine ſentiments and fine periods in plenty. He was a gentleman: he had given his time for nothing: the ſame benevolence that had prompted others to give their money had prompted him to receive it. Was ſuch a man to be queſtioned? Queſtions import ſuſpicion. Suſpicion by a man of fine feelings is only to be anſwered by defiance.

Not long ago, another man ran away, having been detected in a courſe of fraud by which he had gained to the amount of ſome thouſand pounds at the expence of a pariſh. How came this? He too was a gentleman: ſerving the public without pay he was not to be ſuſpected. He gave in accounts from time to time, ſuch as they were: but, not being publiſhed and diſtributed, they were acceſſible only to a few, who had too much good manners and too much faith to look at them.

Neither is board-management, even where carried on without pay, by any means exempt from peculation. I have inſtances in my eye: but what is not public cannot be mentioned publicly. Nor can inſtances be wanting to any one who has read the inſtructive but melancholy view given by Howard in his book on Lazarettos, of the ſtate of the charities in Ireland. In England, parochial peculation is become proverbial.

One of the Scipio's, being in a pecuniary office, was called upon for his accounts.—— Gentlemen, ſaid he, this day ſo many months, I got a prodigious victory.——*Scipio for ever!* was the cry, *and no accounts!* According to the mob of Scipio's days, and according to the mob of hiſtorians of all days, the author of the motion was a calumniator: according to others Scipio had a good countenance and knew the people he had to deal with. In Scipio's caſe, were I guilty, and bold enough, I would do exactly as Scipio did. Were I innocent, I ſhould regard the obligation of publiſhing accounts, not as a burthen but as a privilege.

A prevailing but erroneous propenſity, derived from the times when the means of publicity were not ſo eaſy as at preſent, is to cramp

and in theory ſo fond of virtue, they had rather ſee five hundred pounds waſted at their expence than five ſhillings gained.

Between the public and the candidate for a management contract there paſſes, or at leaſt might be made to paſs, a very different converſation.

Public. *You are a Jew.*——

Contractor. *I confeſs it.*——

Public. *You require watching.*——

Contractor. *Watch me.*——

Public.

cramp power and leave the exerciſe of it in the dark. Every thing is by this means againſt the upright manager, every thing in favour of the corrupt and intriguing one. A board is inſtituted, conſiſting of members with powers apparently equal, but of whom all but one are reduced to cyphers, by ſupport ſecretly whiſpered into the ear of one and with-holden from the reſt. This is another inſtance that may be added to the ways in which the miſchief of diviſion is palliated, and a government apparently of many reduced to a government by one. Where in conſideration of character and ſituation any thing more than ordinary in point of confidence is thought fit to be repoſed, removal of clogs and enlargement of powers is the proper ſhape for it to ſhew itſelf in. As to ſecreſy, there are few affairs or departments indeed in which, except it be juſt for the moment, it can be either neceſſary or of uſe: none at all in which the curtain might not and ought not at ſome period or other to be drawn aſide. And it is one of the advantages attending the encreaſed power of the public eye, that the amplitude of diſcretion, ſo neceſſary in moſt inſtances to good management) may be given on ſuch terms with more ſecurity than heretofore.

Public. *We muſt have all fair and above board. You muſt do nothing that we don't ſee.*——

Contractor. *You ſhall ſee every thing. You ſhall have it in the News-papers.*——

Public. *Contractors are thieves.—Sir, you muſt be examined.*——

Contractor. *Examine me as often as is agreeable to you, gentlemen: any of you, or all of you. I'll go before any court you pleaſe. Thieves ſtand upon the law, and refuſe anſwering when it would ſhew you what they are. I refuſe nothing. I ſtand upon nothing, gentlemen, but my own honeſty, and your favour. If you catch me doing the leaſt thing whatever that ſhould not be, let my Lord Judge ſay go, and out I go that inſtant.*

Chooſing board management, the Penitentiary Act, to do it juſtice, was as moderate under the articles of ſalary and influence as it well could be. Seven perſons only can be found with uſeleſs ſalaries:* the two nominal Governors, the three who

 compoſe

* Seven—did I ſay?—I was too haſty. I ſhould have ſaid nine: adding to the ſeven, one of the two Surgeons, and one of the two Chaplains.——Two ſexes, two houſes: two houſes, two Chaplains, and two Surgeons. This is truſt-logic, fine gentleman's logic, placeman's logic.——Contract logic is of humbler mould:

1. As to *Surgeons*—Suppoſe one ſick out of ten: 90 ſick at a time out of the 900. The ſuppoſition is extravagantly large and beyond

compoſe the governing Committee, their Clerk, and the Inſpector, in as far as his office regards the Penitentiary-houſe. The Governor's and Committee Clerk's ſalary was to be ſettled by the Committe: the Committee though appointed according to cuſtom by the crown, were to have their ſalaries ſettled by another authority, Juſtices of the Peace in Seſſions. The Inſpector, an officer to be appointed by the crown, is the only one of them whoſe ſalary is fixed by the Act: £200. a year, a ſalary moderate enough, if it had been of any uſe. Even the board, thus confined to the ſmalleſt number

beyond experience; but it will ſerve for a ſuppoſition. For tending theſe 90 there is the medical aſſiſtant's whole time: a ſurgeon will attend a greater number than this at an hoſpital in addition to his private practice. For the mechanical part of the buſineſs he might likewiſe find aſſiſtance enough if neceſſary amongſt the moſt intelligent and orderly of the priſoners. This is actually practiſed on board the Hulks.—One Surgeon then to make trial with?—*No*—Well, but if upon trial of two, one is found ſuperfluous—*No* again: the act is inexorable. Though the Committee and every body elſe ſhould find one of the two uſeleſs, two there are to be, in ſpite of all the world. See § 19. The paragraph puts the caſe and decides upon it.

2. As to Chaplains—Divine ſervice, inſtead of twice in each of two chapels, four times a day, ſuppoſe, in one:—how many Curates are glad to do this, beſides marriages, baptiſms and burials? *Oh but Sunday is but one day. You forgot the other ſix.*—No: not I indeed.——I know who do: but I'm not one of thoſe. My Chaplain would not find leſs to do on the ſix than on the ſeventh But this is hereſy: and what right have I to attribute my hereſies to the authors of the Penitentiary Act.

But why ſervice at different times? even upon the common plans.—In the Magdalen Chapel, is there not a numerous company of females concealed from every eye.

ber poſſible, were to have no pay but in proportion to attendance: an excellent regulation, which, while it enſures aſſiduity in this bye-corner of the political edifice, is a ſatire on the reſt*.

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* A word or two may not be amiſs by way of recapitulation. Intereſted management, when accompanied by the ſafeguard of which it is ſuſceptible, has the advantage of unintereſted management however modified: 1. In carrying the probability of the beſt economy to the higheſt pitch; 2. Exciting ſcrutiny by the jealouſy it inſpires. In theſe particulars it has the advantage of unintereſted, even where the latter is in ſingle hands, and thoſe unpaid.

Where truſt-management cannot be had without ſalary, contract-management may be expected to have the farther advantage of ſaving the amount of the ſalary.

The inconveniences reſulting from ſalary are: 1. Waſte of money: 2. Encreaſe of the influence of the crown: 3. Tendency which the ſalary has to give birth to negligence: and that partly by ſetting a man above his buſineſs, partly by throwing him in the way of occupations that draw him off from his buſineſs: 4. Tendency which it has to throw the place into the hands of a perſon originally unfit for it.

The farther inconveniences reſulting from board-management in contradiſtinction to truſt-management in ſingle hands, are: 1. Multiplied waſte of money: 2. Multiplied encreaſe of influence: 3, 4, 5, and 6. Detriment to economy by delay, by want of unity of plan, by fluctuation of meaſures and by diſagreement.

Payment according to attendance is a good ſecurity, as far as it goes, againſt non-attendance: (a depoſit beſides to be returned upon attendance, would be ſtill ſtronger;) but ſtill it can never put board-management upon a par with ſingle management guarded as above, much leſs upon a par with contract management. Where the mind is abſent or indifferent, the preſence of the body is but of little uſe.

To what degree of perfection might not government be carried, were it poſſible to give equal ſtrength to the connection between intereſt and duty in every other line of ſervice?—Were it poſſible that in the adminiſtration of juſtice, for inſtance, the Judge, without any formality of law, ſhould be a gainer of courſe by every right

The contract plan, I have ſaid, ſaves a world of regulations. It does moſt certainly—What object ſhould they have? *Prevention of cruelty?* Details will never do it. If the diſpoſition exiſts, tie it down in one ſhape, it breaks out in another. Checks for this purpoſe muſt be of a broader nature: broad enough to comprehend the miſchief in all its forms: life-inſurance, tranſparent management, ſummary juſtice*.—*Prevention of undue lenity and indulgence?* A very little in this way will ſuffice. Self intereſt is the the great check here: it may be truſted without much danger: Few indulgences but either coſt money, or diminiſh labour. The only danger is, leſt ſome which are improper on other accounts ſhould be granted for the ſake of money: ſuch as ſpirituous liquors†, gaming, and a few others. Theſe indeed may be refuſed by law: but theſe come within a narrow compaſs. *Economy?*

right judgment he gave, and a proportionable loſer by every erroneous one?——That in the ſpiritual department, the paſtor ſhould not only gain, but be ſeen to gain a ſtep himſelf by every ſucceſsful lift he gave to any of his flock in the road to heaven, and to ſuffer for every foul that loſt footing by his negligence?

* What details are there on this head in the law of maſter and apprentice?

† A prohibition on this head inſerted into the Penitentiary Act has been attended with the happieſt conſequences. To this cauſe principally if not ſolely may be attributed the general good health of the convicts on board the Hulks, as noted in Part I. § 24, and of thoſe at Wymondham. The ſucceſs of this ſingle clauſe has made ample payment to the authors of the Penitentiary Act for all their trouble, and to the public ample atonement for their errors.

Economy?—Is that the object? Under the contract-plan the idea would be too ridiculous. Is it in ſpite of his teeth, that a man is to be made to purſue the management that would anſwer beſt to him?

Under the plan of truſt management, ſuch care may not be altogether ſuperfluous. Two qualities are requiſite: intelligence and induſtry. On neither head can the legiſlator be abſolutely at his eaſe. Of himſelf he is ſure: he cannot be equally ſure of his unknown deputy. He himſelf has the buſineſs at heart and in his thoughts: whether the future manager will either underſtand or care any thing about the matter is as it may happen. The principal has to teach him his duty, and when taught to keep him to it. Is the contractor to be treated in the ſame manner? Yes: if it requires the ſame pains to make a man purſue his intereſt, as to keep him to his duty.

Miſtakes if made by legiſlation, cannot they be corrected by legiſlation?—O yes—that they may: and ſo may miſtakes in generalſhip. In what time? With good fortune, in a twelvemonth: with ordinary fortune, in two or three years or in another Parliament. When the army has been cut to pieces, for having been enacted to march the wrong way, get an act of Parliament and you may order a retreat. When the capital has been ſunk

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in a bad trade, get an act of Parliament, and you you may try another*.

Spite of all this, economy was to be beat into men's heads by a legiſlative hammer. Rules of economy for almoſt every branch of the concern: building, employment, diet, bedding, furniture—And what comes of it all?—We ſhall ſee.—It will be worth ſeeing. Who are they whoſe labours, thus employed, are worſe than thrown away? Are they without name or reputation?—They are among the higheſt on the liſt of public men.

Notwithſtanding all this pains taken to teach as well as to enforce good economy, ſhould bad economy prevail after all, obſerve the remedy. By § 62, proviſion is made for "checking or redreſſing "waſte, extravagant expence and miſmanage-"ment." Juſtices in Seſſions upon inſpection of the accounts may report it to the King's Bench, "who ſhall take order therein immediately:" but the waſte muſt be "notorious," and the miſmanagement "groſs." *Immediately* after what?—After hearing the report: that is half a year perhaps

* Looking at the Governor, and his Governors, the Committee, I cannot help thinking of a General under Field-deputies. One ſet is, I believe, the moſt ever General was ſaddled with, and they have commonly given him ſufficient trouble. The General of the Penitentiary Act has three ſets of them one above another: ſtanding Committee, Juſtices in Seſſions, and Judges of Aſſize.

haps after the "obſervation" of the miſchief, and quarter of a year more perhaps after the commiſſion of it: the delinquency going on all the while. Whoever will take the trouble to compare the times of Quarter Seſſions and Law Terms, will find that this remedy, ſuch as it is, is in ſeaſon only in the ſpring and winter months, and then is not a very ſpeedy one. Againſt "waſte" at leaſt, and "extravagant expence," and every miſmanagement by which the contractor would be a loſer, the remedy afforded by contract-management is rather more ſimple, and is in ſeaſon all the year round.

Oh, but this contract-plan—it's like farming the poor: and what a cruel inhuman practice that is!—Be it ſo in that inſtance: the preſent is a very different one.

1. The objects or *ends* in view, ſo far from being the ſame, are oppoſite. There comfort: here, puniſhment: moderate and regulated puniſhment indeed, but however puniſhment. In the one caſe whatever hardſhip is ſuſtained is ſo much miſery in waſte. In the other caſe, howſoever it be to be regretted, it is not altogether loſt: it contributes at any rate to ſwell the account of terror, which is the great end in view.

2. Another difference is in the *checks*. Here, an unexampled degree of publicity;—there next to

to none. There, though no hardſhips are intended the ſevereſt may take place. Here, whatever are intended to be felt are intended to be ſeen: and nothing in that way that is not intended can ſtand any chance of remaining concealed. Who but pariſhioners, and how few even of them, ever think of looking into a Poor-houſe? But in what corner of a Panopticon Penitentiary-Houſe could either avarice or negligence hope to find a lurking place? *Time is fatal to curioſity.*—True; in an individual: but not in a ſucceſſion of individuals. The great dependence of the Penitentiary-Act is on a ſingle Inſpector: *one* Inſpector for the *thouſand* houſes its town was to contain, and who was alſo to ſerve for the Hulks, "and all the other places of criminal "confinement in London and Middleſex," beſides: and ſo well ſatisfied is it with this ſecurity as to allot £200 a year to pay for it. Let money or friendſhip, (no very extravagant ſuppoſition) make a connection between this Inſpector and the managers he is to inſpect, what is the ſecurity worth then?—Here to *one* room you have Inſpectors by *thouſands*. Is it poſſible that a national Penitentiary-Houſe of this kind ſhould be more at a loſs for viſitors than the *lions*, the *wax-work*, or the *tombs*? Of the 25,000 individuals born annually in London I want but one out of the hundred, and him but once in his life, without reckoning country viſitors.

ſitors. Call it a ſpectacle for youth, and for youth only:——Youth however do not go to ſpectacles alone.

3. A third difference reſpects the *quality* of the managers. For the Poor-houſe of a ſingle pariſh what can you expect better than ſome uneducated ruſtic or petty tradeſman? the tendency of whoſe former calling is more likely to have been of a nature to ſmother than to cheriſh whatever ſeeds of humanity may have been ſown by nature. For a ſtation of ſo conſpicuous and public a kind as that of the Governor of a National Penitentiary-Houſe. even upon the footing of a contract, men of ſome ſort of liberality of education can ſcarce be wanting: men in whoſe boſoms thoſe precious ſeeds have not been without culture. Such men were certainly not wanting for the originally-deſigned Penitentiary-Houſe. Upon what principle ſhould they ever be deſpaired of for what I hope I may ſtile the improved one? In a concern of ſuch a magnitude, the profit if it be any thing can hardly be inconſiderable: the number and quality of the candidates may be expected to be proportionable. A ſtation that is at any rate conſpicuous, and that may be lucrative, a ſtation in which much good as well as much evil may be done, in which no inconſiderable merit as well as demerit may be diſplayed in a line of public ſervice, is in little danger of going a beg-

ing. And ſhould the eſtabliſhment be fortunate in its firſt choice, the reputation of the ſervant will help to raiſe the reputation of the ſervice.

Where then is the reſemblance? not that I mean to paſs any cenſure on contract-management in the other inſtance. It may be eligible without any modifications: it may be eligible only under certain modifications: it may be radically and unalterably ineligible. All this I paſs over as being foreign to the purpoſe.

Whoever elſe may be ſhocked at the idea of farming out priſoners, the authors of the Penitentiary Act are not of the number. They approve it and adopt it: they confirm it on board the Hulks. What is the buſineſs done or ſuppoſed to be done on board thoſe veſſels?—Scraping gravel from the bottom of a river;—a buſineſs in which there was nothing that could be gained or loſt to any body: nothing to buy but neceſſaries, nothing to make, nothing to ſell: no capital to be diſpoſed of. What was the buſineſs intended to have been carried on in the Penitentiary-Houſes?—A vaſt and complicated mercantile concern:—not one manufacture, but a congeries of manufactures.—They ſaw before them two eſtabliſhments: a mercantile and an unmercantile one. The mercantile affording peculiar aliment and temptation to pecu-

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lation:—ſhrinking, like every other mercantile concern, from the touch of extraneous regulation: rendering official and mercenary inſpection the leſs neceſſary by the invitation it holds out to free and gratuitous inſpectors:—poſſeſſing in that innate facility of inſpection a peculiar ſafe-guard againſt any abuſes that could reſult from inhumanity or negligence.——The unmercantile concern, affording in compariſon ſcarce any aliment or incitement to peculation:—containing nothing of mercantile project that could be hurt by regulation:——at the ſame time by the very nature of the place and of the buſineſs, excluding all promiſcuous affluence, all facility and almoſt all poſſibility of ſpontaneous viſitation: poſſeſſing in conſequence no natural ſafe-guard againſt negligence or inhumanity: but rather offering to thoſe and all other abuſes a perpetual ſcreen:——in a word, the mercantile concern, by every diſtinguiſhing circumſtance belonging to it, repelling regulation and truſt-management: the unmercantile one, calling for thoſe checks, and admitting of them with as little inconvenience as any other that could be imagined. Such are the two eſtabliſhments.—What were the modes of management reſpectively allotted to them?——To the mercantile, truſt-management, board-management: to the other, contract-management. The mercantile, loaded and fettered with inceſſant regulation, permanent as well as occaſional,

occaſional, known and unknown, preſent and future, is delivered over to a body of managers who have no intereſt in the ſucceſs, a prey to delays, to want of unity of plan, to fluctuation, to diſſention. The unmercantile and uninſpectable one, left altogether without regulation:* the priſoners abandoned to the uncontrouled and uncontroulable diſcretion of a ſingle deſpot, taken from the White-negro trade.† Where there is management that regulation might ſpoil, they regulate without mercy: where there is nothing to ſpoil, they abſtain from regulating, as if for fear of ſpoiling it.

* There is indeed a clauſe, but a very vague one, (§ 60) for ſubjecting the ſuperintendants of the Hulks to the "direction "given," reſpecting the "Governors of the Penitentiary-Houſes," but in terms ſo general and pregnant with ambiguity, that little if any thing can be collected from it. One thing only is certain; viz. that it leaves no room for the introduction of any regulations beſides thoſe given in the Act itſelf: for, by § 16, ſuch future regulations can originate only with the Committee of *three*, whoſe authority is confined to Penitentiary-Houſes.

† This refers to the claſs merely, let it be obſerved, and not to the individual.—Unhappily where conduct is buried in darkneſs, it is by the claſs only that the individual can be judged. The Inſpector mentioned in the Act has never been appointed. No powers whatever are given him, unleſs the right of entry given by implication is to be called a power. The ſame right is given to Juſtices of the Peace within their territory (§ 41.) His was to viſit and report four times a year. He was to have enough to do beſides: for he had the ſame powers with regard not only to the Penitentiary-Houſe, but all the other "places of criminal "confinement in London and Middleſex." § 63.

§ 3. Of

§ 3. OF

Separation as between the Sexes.

IN all plans of Penitentiary diſcipline, the diſtribution of the priſoners into claſſes is a point that has been more or leſs attended to. In this claſſification the object regarded as moſt important has been the ſeparation of the ſexes. In the preſent plan, proviſion for that purpoſe has not been neglected. On this head, as on moſt others, the proviſion made muſt be governed in ſome degree by the peculiar ſtructure of the building. The means employed in buildings of the ordinary form have little or nó application here.

Two modes of effecting the ſeparation offer themſelves at firſt view. The one is to provide for female convicts a building and an eſtabliſhment entirely ſeparate: the other is to allot to this purpoſe, if the ſame building is employed for both ſexes, at leaſt a ſeparate ward. The unfrugality is an objection that applies with more or leſs force to both theſe expedients.

It applies with particular force to the caſe of a building and eſtabliſhment altogether ſeparate. The

The numbers to be provided for being variable, a fixed proviſion muſt ever be attended with a loſs. The fluctuation to which the total number of priſoners male and female taken together is liable, is a diſtinct object, for which upon this plan proviſion has been already made. But the proportion between males and females is equally liable to vary and to fluctuate. Provide two eſtabliſhments, one for males and a ſeparate one for females; the one may be comparatively empty while the other overflows: at the ſame time that no relief can be afforded by the ſuperabundance of room in the one to the deficiency of it in the other *.

The

* The colonization plan, if it is to go on, and if it is to be conſiſtently purſued, will add a factitious cauſe of variation to the abovementioned natural ones. The average number of female convicts is in a large proportion inferior to that of the males. According to the Penitentiary Act it ſhould be at the moſt only as one to ſix, ſince in the Penitentiary Houſe among 900 priſoners there were to have been only 300 females to 600 males, and there have always been more than twice 900 males on board the Hulks. Were the whole number of females without exception ſent to colonize, the number would therefore ſtill remain far ſhort of being adequate to the purpoſe. As far as concerned the female ſex the only uſe of Penitentiary Panopticon would be to keep them during the interval between one colonizing expedition and another. At one time then it may contain hundreds; at another time, none, unleſs it be the caſe of married women whoſe huſbands were not comprized under a ſimilar ſentence. I know of no caſe that would allow an exception. Not that of women paſt child-bearing: not that of thoſe in whom that faculty had ſuffered a premature extinction: eſpecially as in the latter caſe the matter of fact does not admit of being aſcertained. Even were population out of the queſtion, women would be of indiſpenſible neceſſity

The ſame inconvenience will ſtill obtain in a greater or leſs degree, in the caſe of ſeparate wards. Whatſoever be the proportion fixed, Cells will be vacant in one part, while they are wanting in the other.

The beſt arrangement were the numbers ſuch as to need it, and the proportions ſuitable, might be to have three Penitentiary Panopticons; one always filled with males, another always filled with females, and a third to receive, in ſuch proportions as accident furniſhed, the overflowings of the other two. The difficulty here in queſtion having no place in either of the unmixed eſtabliſhments, I proceed here on the ſuppoſition of a mixed one.

Conceive ſuch a Panopticon divided into two ſides: that on the right of the entrance I call the *male* ſide; that on the left the *female*. For the male ſide I provide as many male Inſpectors as ſhall be found requiſite: adding at leaſt one female, whom I ſtile the Matron, for the female ſide. To each ſex I allot a ſeparate ſtaircaſe, running from top to bottom. No female is ever to ſet foot on any part of the male ſtaircaſe: no male on any part of the female. Neither is any male in paſſing from his

neceſſity for ſociety and ſervice. In ſuch a ſituation, every thing in the ſhape of a woman is ineſtimable. Here a crowd of reflections preſent themſelves, which however muſt be diſmiſſed as not being to the preſent purpoſe.

his Cell to the male ſtaircaſe to paſs by any of the women's Cells. He is to come round to the male ſtaircaſe however diſtant: and ſo *vice verſa* in regard to females.

Suppoſing females enough to occupy the whole female ſide of two ſtories of Cells, thus far there is no difficulty. I place them in the lower pair of Cells, ſubject to inſpection from the main or loweſt ſtory of the Inſpection-tower; viz. that which is underneath the Chapel and in which the annular Inſpector's Gallery encloſes a circular Inſpector's Lodge. The left hand ſemicircle of the whole circuit, Lodge and encloſing Gallery together, I allot to the Matron, with her female aſſiſtant or aſſiſtants, if ſuch ſhould be found neceſſary. The right hand I appropriate to the male inſpector with his ſubordinates. In the Lodge a moveable ſcreen marks their reſpective territories. In the encircling Gallery a ſimilar ſcreen or a curtain anſwers the ſame purpoſe.*

As far as *ſight* is concerned, two pieces of canvas, hung parallel to each other at about 18 inches diſtance

* It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that ſcreens and curtains and other ſuch moveable partitions intended as obſtacles to ſight muſt be double, or may be ſingle, according to circumſtances. Where the eye meant to be eluded can gain a near approach, they muſt be double: otherwiſe a ſlit or a pin-hole would be ſufficient to fruſtrate the deſign. When ſuch approach is not to be apprehended, a ſingle ſcreen anſwers the purpoſe.

diſtance (the thickneſs of the partition-walls of the Cells) acroſs the Intermediate Area and the Cell-Gallery, will ſerve effectually enough to cut off from the priſoners of each ſex all view of thoſe of the other, even where the Cells are contiguous. In regard to *converſation*, the males on the one ſide the ſeparation wall, and the females on the other, muſt reſpectively be prohibited from approaching within a certain diſtance of the end of that wall, that is, from approaching within that diſtance of their reſpective grates: and to enforce the obſervance of this prohibition, as well as to ſave the parties from unintentional tranſgreſſion, a moveable interior grate or lattice-work very ſlight and very open, or netting, may be placed within each of the two Cells at the requiſite diſtance from the main grate.*

As far as *hearing* is concerned, the ſeparation, it is evident, would be effected in a manner ſtill more ſimple and effectual, if between the males on the one ſide and the females on the other, a whole Cell could be left vacant. If then the numbers are ſuch as to leave any ſuch vacant Cells, the vacancy will of courſe be left in the ſpot where it anſwers the purpoſe of ſeparation. Should the number of Cells occupied by females be even, but leſs than

* It muſt have a door of the ſame materials, with a lock to it, correſponding to the door of the exterior grate.

the number contained in the female ſide of two ſtories of Cells, the mode of effecting the ſeparation is almoſt equally ſimple. The ſet of moveable partitions muſt be ſhifted accordingly; viz. the curtains croſſing reſpectively the Inſpector's Gallery, the Intermediate Area at that height, and the Cell Gallery, and the ſcreen which ſeparates the Matron's ſide from the male ſide of the Lodge.

If the number of female Cells, though ſtill even, ſhould be greater than as above, two modes of making proviſion for it preſent themſelves. One is, to enlarge the Matron's ſide of that floor at the expence of the Male-Inſpector's, as the latter was on the former ſuppoſition enlarged at the expence of the former: the other is to leave the diviſion even, and take what farther Cells are requiſite for females from a higher pair of Cells: parting off the correſponding part of the Inſpection-Gallery, the Annular-Well, and the Cell-Galleries, as before.

Is the number of Cells an uneven one? The mode of effecting the ſeparation is again ſomewhat different, though ſtill ſcarcely leſs obvious than before. In this caſe, the female part in one of the ſtories of a pair of ſtories of Cells would extend further than in the other: hang the ſeparation-curtain in the Annular Area as you pleaſe, a female Cell muſt be expoſed to the view of a male Inſpector,

ſpector, or a male Cell to that of a female one. To obviate this irregularity, one of the Cells muſt be left vacant. If the number on the eſtabliſhment ſhould be ſhort of the full complement, it would be only leaving the vacancy here inſtead of elſewhere: if it ſhould have the full complement or more, the inhabitants of the vacant Cell muſt be turned over to other Cells, which will thus be in the caſe already explained of having a *ſuper-complement.*

On the ſunk ſtory from which the exit is into the Yards, and in particular at the exit, the ſeparation is ſtill more perfectly effected and more eaſily managed. A ſingle piece of canvas let fall from the Inſpector's Bridge acroſs the Intermediate Area does the buſineſs at once.

Here may perhaps occur, as a diſadvantage, what on a general ſurvey appeared in the light of an advantage, that each Inſpector, over and above the perfect view he has of his own pair of Cells, has a partial view of all the others in the ſame pile. Hence it will be obſerved that, notwithſtanding the precautions above detailed, a male Inſpector will have ſome view of a female Cell: and *vice verſa*, though it be leſs material, a female Inſpector will have a ſimilar view of a male Cell. The anſwer is, that the boundary line, viz. that at which a priſoner begins to be viſible to an Inſpector in the Gallery above or below

the

the one belonging to the Cell in queſtion, will appear in practice beyond danger of miſtake. Within this line, which may be ſufficiently defined by a very ſimple mark, ſuch as a rope hung acroſs, the female priſoners may be warned and enjoined to confine themſelves at ſtated portions of twenty-four hours. For in regard to ſuch an imperfect and diſtant view, decency is the only conſideration that makes it very material to place the female part of the priſoners ſo compleatly out of ſight of the male part of the Inſpectors: and it is only to certain times and certain occaſions that the laws of that virtue will in ſuch a caſe apply. The imperfect view from a ſuperior or inferior ſtory of the Inſpection-part is in few inſtances ſo extenſive, but that a female priſoner, in dreſſing herſelf, for example, or undreſſing herſelf, may be perfectly out of the reach of a male Inſpector's eye: and in thoſe few inſtances proviſion may be made either by leaving of vacancies, or by interpoſition of ſcreens in manner already mentioned. All this while what muſt not be forgotten is, that a female priſoner cannot be expoſed in a manner ever ſo imperfect to the eye of a male Inſpector, without being expoſed in a much greater degree to the obſervation of one of her own ſex: a circumſtance which affords ſufficient ſecurity againſt any voluntary treſpaſſes againſt decency that might be committed by a female priſoner, through impudence, or in the deſign of making

ing an improper impreſſion upon the ſenſibility of an Inſpector of the other ſex.

The ſame conſideration will ſerve to obviate an objection which the ſlightneſs of the partitions that ſeparate the male from the female ſide of the Inſpection-tower might ſuggeſt. The great object in regard to the ſeparation of the ſexes is that between priſoners and priſoners: and that object is compleatly provided for. As to what concerns priſoners on the one hand and Inſpectors on the other, it is only at certain times that the female priſoners need, or even ought, to be out of all view of male Inſpectors: at other times the utmoſt that can be requiſite is, that they ſhould not be expoſed to the view of the Inſpectors of the oppoſite ſex, without being at the ſame time expoſed in at leaſt equal degree to thoſe of their own. Neither of theſe objects is more than what an ordinary attention to diſcipline is ſufficient to inſure.

A due attention to the ſame conſiderations of time and circumſtance will be ſufficient to enſure the ſame regard to decency in that part of the diſcipline which concerns the inſpection of the external yards. While the female convicts are taking their air and exercise at one of the walking-wheels, an Inſpector of the oppoſite ſex, eſpecially at the diſtance

distance at which he is placed in the Look-out, is as unexceptionable as one of their own. When bathing is to be performed by females, it is in a yard into which no prisoner of the other sex need ever set foot, and exposed to no other inspection than that of a female Inspector occupying her quarter in the Look-out. Or, if necessary, the times of bathing might be different for the different sexes, and each Inspector might in his turn give place to the other, quitting the Look-out altogether.

The good Howard expresses himself much distressed to know what to do about making a choice between the sexes for the management of a Penitentiary-House for females*. Female rulers might want firmness: in male ones, probity and impartiality might be warped by the attraction of female eyes. The Panopticon principle dispels this as well as so many other difficulties. Among the prisoners, a coalition between the sexes would be an abuse: among the Inspectors, it is a remedy against abuse. The weakness of the Matron would find a support in the masculine firmness of the Governor and his subordinates: a weakness of a different kind on the male side of the establishment would find its proper check and corrective in the vigilance of matronly severity. As to the Matron and her subordinates of her own sex, it is not surely too much to assume, that for these stations individuals will be chose

* On Lazarettos, p. 225.

chosen to whom age as well as character have given an authority not to be shaken by any such improper influence. The mixed inspection, let it be observed, I suppose to be simultaneous: If alternate only, the check would have little force. The male-ruler would have *carte blanche* while out of the eye of his female colleague.

Must the iron law of divorce maintain throughout the whole of so long a term an unremitted sway? Can the gentle bands of wedlock be in no instance admitted to assuage the gripe of imprisonment and servitude? Might not the faculty of exchanging the first-allotted companion for another far otherwise qualified for alleviating the rigours of seclusion, be conceded without violation of the terms, or departure from the spirit, of the sentence? Might not the prospect of such indulgence be an incentive to good behaviour super-added to all that punishment can give? These are questions to which a humane Manager would surely be glad to find (and why need he despair of finding?) a fit answer on the lenient side.

§ 4. OF

Separation into Companies and Claſſes.

A MODE of ſeparation according to a plan of diviſion into claſſes, being exhibited in Plate III. ſomething will be expected to be ſaid in explanation of it.

As to this part, the draught had two objects: one was, to ſhew in what manner the Inſpection-principle might be applied in undiminiſhed perfection to an uncovered Area, and that without prejudice to any number of diviſions which, in what view ſoever, it might be found convenient to make in it: the other was, to ſhew in what manner the miſchiefs ſo much lamented by Howard and other priſon reformers, as reſulting from promiſcuous aſſociation, might be diminiſhed by a diviſion of the priſoners into claſſes, accompanied by a local and phyſical ſeparation correſpondent to that ideal one.

Diſſatisfied with the diviſion into claſſes, though carried to a degree of improvement hitherto without example, I turned my thoughts to the preſervation

vation of the degree of ſecluſion obſerved in the diſtribution of the priſoners among the Cells, viz. a diviſion into ſmall and regulated companies: and it was in the courſe of this enquiry that I hit upon the plan of airing, of which the *Marching Parade* is the ſcene *.

The miſchiefs in queſtion, being by means of this plan of airing, obviated, if I am not miſtaken, as far as the nature of things will admit, all other plans which fall ſhort of obviating thoſe miſchiefs in equal degree, and according to the above-mentioned plan of diviſion into claſſes, are conſequently ſuperſeded: in this one therefore of the two points of view above-mentioned, the diviſions exemplified in the draught are of no uſe.

A few additional obſervations, for the purpoſe of placing in the cleareſt light the relative eligibility of the ſeveral poſſible modes of diſpoſing of priſoners in reſpect of ſociety among themſelves, may not be altogether ill-beſtowed.

The principal and moſt ſimple modifications of which the management in relation to this head is ſuſceptible, ſtand expreſſed as follows:

1. Promiſcuous aſſociation.

2. Abſolute ſolitude.

* See Part I, p. 267, 277.

3. Diviſion into limited companies.

4. Separation correſponding to a diviſion into claſſes.

5. Alternation of ſolitude with promiſcuous aſſociation.

6. Alternation of ſolitude with diviſion into limited companies.

7. Alternation of ſolitude with ſeparation according to claſſes.

Of theſe courſes, the firſt ſtands reprobated on all hands. The ſecond I have rejected for the reaſons given at large in Part I. § 6. The third is that which I have preferred to the ſecond, for the reaſons given in the ſame ſection. The 4th is that which occurred to me at firſt as preferable to the firſt and ſecond, but ſtands ſuperſeded by the third. The 5th is that eſtabliſhed by the Penitentiary Act and the plans which follow it, partly as it ſhould ſeem for want of viewing the evil in its full magnitude, partly for want of knowing how to obviate it. The utmoſt improvement to which that ſyſtem would naturally conduct is the exchange of this 5th mode for the 7th. The 6th is mentioned here only to compleat the catalogue, its inutility being indicated by the ſame conſiderations which ſhew the ſufficiency of the third.

Companies

Companies and claſſes—where is the diſtinction?—Here. In companies the numbers are determinate: in claſſes, indeterminate. In the plan repreſented by the draught, the claſſes, though more in number than have ever yet been diſcriminated, would ſtill in an eſtabliſhment of any magnitude be few: but though they were as numerous as the Cells by the number of which that of the propoſed companies is determined, the diviſion according to claſſes would never coincide with or anſwer the purpoſe of the diviſion into companies. Why?—Becauſe the number of individuals in each claſs being eſſentially indeterminate, ſome claſſes might be empty while others overflowed: and in thoſe that overflowed, the number would conſequently exceed the meaſure pitched upon as the greateſt that could be admitted without departing from the ends in view.

Of the ſeparation according to claſſes, as contradiſtinguiſhed from the ſeparation into companies ſecured as by the airing plan, the chief inconveniences are the two following: it leaves the convicts ſtill, as we have ſeen, in *crowds*: and if puſhed to any length and carried into effect by ſeparation-walls, it is proportionably attended with a great addition to the expence *.

That

* What ſtartled me and ſhowed me the neceſſity of probing the ſubject to the bottom was, the being told by an architect, that the walls alone as expreſſed in Plate III. might come to two or three thouſand pounds. It was high time then to enquire what the advantages were that muſt be ſo dearly paid for.

That it leaves the priſoners in crowds is evident: for ſeparation according to claſſes implies aſſociation as between individuals of the ſame claſs: of whom though the ſeparation reſulting from the claſſification were to be carried ever ſo far, the numbers would ſtill, as we have ſeen, be indeterminate.

Crowds among men whoſe characters have undergone any ſort of ſtain are unfavourable to good morals. This property belongs to them independently of any miſchievous communications that may reſult from the qualities of individuals. They exclude reflection and they fortify men againſt ſhame. Reflection they exclude by the poſſeſſion they take of the attention, by the ſtrength as well as variety of the impreſſions they excite, by the agitation which is the accompaniment of the inceſſant change. Their effect in hardening men againſt ſhame is not leſs conſpicuous. Shame is the fear of the diſapprobation of thoſe with whom we live. But how ſhould diſapprobation of criminality diſplay itſelf among a throng of criminals? Who is forward to condemn himſelf? Who is there that would not ſeek to make friends rather than enemies of thoſe with whom he is obliged to live? The only public men care about is that in which they live. Men thus ſequeſtered form a public of their own. Their language and their manners aſſimilate. A *lex loci* is formed by tacit conſent which has the moſt

moſt abandoned for its authors: for in ſuch a ſociety the moſt abandoned are the moſt aſſuming, and in every ſociety the moſt aſſuming ſet the lead. The public thus compoſed ſits in judgment over the public without doors and repeals its laws. The more numerous this local public, the louder its clamour, and the greater the facility it finds of drowning whatever memory may be left of the voice of that public which is abſent and out of view.

In the publications of Howard and other priſon-reformers, two ſorts of aſſociations I obſerved affording ſo many ſtanding topics of regret: mixture of debtors with criminals: and mixture of the as yet unhardened with the moſt hardened and corrupted among criminals. Other aſſociations might alſo here and there be noticed in the ſame view: ſuch as that between minor delinquents and ſuch claſſes of criminals whoſe offences were of the deepeſt die: that between convicted and unconvicted criminals: and that between criminals under ſentence of death and others whoſe lot was leſs deplorable. But it was in the two inſtances firſt mentioned that the impropriety ſeemed to preſent itſelf in the moſt glaring colours.

In a Penitentiary-Houſe one only of all theſe mixtures can come in queſtion; viz. that between the hardened with the unhardened, the raw with the old offender.

Under

Under the Penitentiary-Act and the plans of management that have been grounded on it the condition of the priſoners alternates between the two oppoſite extremes: a ſtate of abſolute ſolitude during one part of the twenty-four hours: a ſtate of promiſcuous aſſociation in *crowds* during the remainder. This plan, it has been ſhown, unites the ill effects of ſolitude and aſſociation, without producing the good effects obtainable from the former. To vacant minds like theſe a ſtate of ſolitude is a ſtate of melancholy and diſcomfort: which diſcomfort by the perpetual recurrence of promiſcuous aſſociation is in the way of reformation uſeleſs. It is the hiſtory of Penelope's web reverſed: the work of the night is unravelled by the day *.

The

* Senſible of the inconvenience, the contrivers of the ſyſtem have done what occurred to them in the view of obviating it. No two or more priſoners are to work together without a room on purpoſe, and one or more Inſpectors to attend them. This at working-times: while at the time of "meals" and airings and "divine ſervice" the plan of ſecluſion is given up as unattainable.* What can be ſaid of this?—Immenſe means provided, and the end ſacrificed, all in the ſame breath. Enormous expence and the whole of it thrown away. There muſt be as many lodging-rooms as priſoners: there may be as many working-rooms: and there muſt be as many Inſpectors as working-rooms. So far the Act is explicit. Now for inference.—Every thing countenance the multiplication of working-rooms in this view nothing at all to limit it: while in the ſame ſection ſuch care taken to ſet limits to the magnitude of the lodging-rooms. It ſaid, that where their employments will admit they are at work

* § 23.

The diſtinctions obſerved in the formation of the claſſes will not be altogether loſt: they will ſerve as guides in the formation of the companies. For this purpoſe two rules preſent themſelves. 1. *Put not in the ſame company corrupt and uncorrupted.* 2. *The more corrupt the individuals, the leſs numerous make the company.* The choice as to numbers will be in general between *four*, *three*, and *two*: theſe conſiderations may ſerve to determine it.

As

ing times to be kept ſeparate: is it *not* ſaid, that they ſhall or may work in ſuch caſe in their lodging-rooms: lodging-rooms are mentioned all along as diſtinct from working rooms: and where the employment may require two perſons to work together, the "room is to be of ſuitable dimenſions."—What is the inference? that it muſt be diſtinct from the lodging-rooms, and ought to be of double their ſize. The declared wiſh is that "during the hours of labour they may be kept ſeparate and apart," as much as "the nature of the employments will permit," and yet wherever the nature of the employment requires two perſons to work together, thoſe two perſons are to have a room of ſuitable dimenſions, (as well as at leaſt one Inſpector) to themſelves. What is the final inference?—that to the 900 lodging-rooms there ought to be 450 working-rooms, of which no one ought to be leſs than twice as large as a lodging-room, and of which (to provide for employments that may require an unlimited number to work in the ſame room) any number may be ever ſo much larger. Had the authors meant a job, (than which it is certain nothing was ever farther from mens thoughts) what could a favoured architect have wiſhed for more?

On ſuch a plan one of two things muſt at any rate take place: aſſociation in crowds, (whence a total departure from the profeſſed deſign) or buildings upon buildings to prevent it. The probability is that both ſhould exiſt together: the evil of the miſchief; and the evil of the expenſive and inefficacious remedy. The firſt indeed a neceſſary conſequence of the other parts of the plan: and the other, to a greater or leſs degree, is more than probable.

As to the principles which determined the characters of the ſeveral claſſes, I took them from the ſource that all principles are naturally taken from, common opinion and the authority of others. This in the firſt inſtance: but for a definitive choice I have done by them as I do by all principles, as far as time and faculties permit, I have ſubjected them to the teſt of utility. The bulk of them have ſtood this teſt: others have given way. The diſtinction between old offenders and raw offenders amongſt males, and that between the diſſolute and the decent among females are in the former caſe: that between the daring and the quiet among males is in the latter.

As to the two diſtinctions adopted, I ſhall leave them on the ſame baſis of common opinion on which I found them.

The other being rejected, ſomething in the way of reaſon may be expected to account for the rejection. This reaſon will not be long to ſeek. *Quiet* or *daring* is a diſtinction that reſpects ſafe-cuſtody and obedience. But in a priſon thus guarded, and under a government thus armed, the importance of this diſtinction vaniſhes altogether. From four —no nor from four hundred, were they all looſe together, and all Hercules's, could ſuch an eſtabliſhment have any thing to fear: entrenched behind

hind the ſurrounding wall, armed and inviſible againſt the defenceleſs and expoſed, a ſingle female might bid defiance to the whole throng. The leaſt number of rulers that could poſſibly be made to ſuffice for inſpection and inſtruction, would be amply ſufficient for maſtery. As to obedience, it follows in the moſt perfect degree from the inability to hurt, the expoſure to chaſtiſement, and the abſolute dependance in reſpect of the means of ſuſtenance. In a ſituation like this, the diſtinction between the quiet and the daring is therefore obliterated, the moſt tranſcendent audacity being cut down to the ſcantling of quietneſs.

What miſled me was, the apprehenſion manifeſted in the common plans with regard to nocturnal eſcapes, and the anxiety not to ſuffer even two to be together during the night, notwithſtanding the almoſt promiſcuous aſſociation admitted of in the day. If then eſcape and rebellion, ſaid I, are ſo much to be apprehended, the more daring the character of thoſe who are left together, the greater the cauſe for apprehenſion: and if the quiet are left with the daring, the daring may corrupt them, and make them like themſelves. True:—but a number of men in whom the obnoxious quality is already in full vigour will be ſtill more formidable than an equal number in a part of whom only it hath as yet taken place. Whatever then be the

reaſon for ſeparating the quiet from the daring, the reaſon is ſtill ſtronger for ſeparating the daring from each other. But in a place like this, audacity, be there more or leſs of it, muſt in any caſe be equally without effect. The diſtinction therefore is in every point of view of no uſe.

How different the caſe in the common plans of Penitentiary management! Each Cell is in its interior out of view of every thing. Even ſuppoſing every priſoner ſeparate, what turnkey or taſk-maſter could be ſure of being an overmatch for each of them, and not only an overmatch at the long run, but ſecure againſt aſſault in the firſt inſtance? Suppoſe the priſoners in pairs, what two or even what three of their rulers could look upon themſelves as out of the reach of danger? Any man who has no regard for his own life is maſter of another's. In this ſtate of deſperation, which unhappily is not without example, a few priſoners might be enough to clear a common priſon of its rulers.

Houſe-breakers ſeemed to be the ſort of criminals from whom on every ſcore the worſt was to be apprehended. They would naturally be among the moſt daring: they would be amongſt the moſt ſkilful and experienced in miſchief of all kinds and in contrivances for eſcape.—True: and the more formidable when ſingle, the more dangerous, were there

there any danger in the caſe, if left in the company of each other. But what becomes of danger, from the moſt audacious and moſt ſkilful even of houſe-breakers, where there is nothing to favour eſcape, and every thing to render it impoſſible?

Having brought the plan of ſecluſion thus far on in its way to perfection, let us ſee how far and in what reſpects it ſtill falls ſhort of the mark. Not far, I hope: nor will the diſtance afford an objection, if it be ſeen that a nearer approach would be impoſſible.

One cauſe of imperfection is, that among any two of the moſt experienced in miſchief, neither perhaps but might ſtill find ſome new leſſon of miſchief to learn of the others. The tracks in which their experiences have reſpectively run may happen to have been more or leſs different. Therefore tho' but two of this deſcription were left together, and the plan of mitigated ſecluſion by diviſion into companies carried to its utmoſt; ſtill it is not carried ſo far as could be wiſhed.

Another is, the difficulty that may attend the aſcertaining the character of the individual, and conſequently the determination of the claſs to which he ought to be referred.

To

To the firſt objection, the anſwer is ſhort. If this degree of ſeclufion be not ſufficient, there is nothing beyond but abſolute ſolitude. But the ineligibility of that plan has I hope been ſufficiently made out*. Evil of abſolute ſolitude is certain: it is immediate: it is intolerable: it is univerſal. Evil reſulting from an aſſociation thus ſtrictly limited is but contingent: it is remote: it is far from univerſal: at the worſt it is not great. What does it amount to? that one of them may ſuggeſt to the other ſome trick he was not as yet maſter of. What if now and then ſuch a thing ſhould happen? Whatever communications are made in this way will be ſoon made: and the time in which it would be poſſible to turn them to account in the way of practice will not come for years. But of this enough has been ſaid already.†

So much as to the ſuggeſtion of the *means* of miſchief. Is the ſuggeſtion of *incentives* any more to be apprehended?—a material queſtion: for if the propenſity be out of the way, expedients and contrivances will die away of themſelves.—What ſhould the corrupter inſinuate?—That there is no danger in guilt?—But the aſſertion is anticipated and diſproved by the very fact of their being *there*.—That there is pleaſure in guilt?—But the pleaſure is dead and gone: the puniſhment, that has ſprung out of its aſhes is preſent in every tenſe: in memory, in ſufferance, and in proſpect.——That ſhame

* See Part I. § 6. † Ibid.

ſhame does not flow from guilt?—They are ſteeped in it up to the lips. They have a ſcornful world to gaze at them, and each but one, two or at moſt three companions to keep him in countenance.

What other corruptive theme ſhould come upon the carpet?—Debauchery?—It is not practicable: no not in any ſhape: checks unſurmountable: inſtruments and incentives none.

Profaneneſs?—nor that neither. Profaneneſs has clamour for its natural aſſociate: ſeparated from this concomitant it loſes its zeſt. Clamour they are abſolutely debarred from: inſtant puniſhment would follow it. But who ever whiſpers an execration or a profane oath? What is an execration, what is a profane oath? Morally ſpeaking a mere vulgar expreſſion of anger, or an abjuration of reſtraint*. But is this a place where anger can be gratified or find vent? Is this a place where reſtraint can be thrown off?—To check ſwearing is to check anger and audacity, and to check anger and audacity is to check ſwearing. To apparent ſubmiſſiveneſs they will be forced: and after a time,

* A kind of interjection. As there are interjections of grief and of ſurprize, ſo there are interjections of anger and audacity: and theſe interjections are what are called *oaths*, and ſo forth. This obſervation, while it places the moral miſchievouſneſs of an expreſſion of this caſt in a ſomewhat new and perhaps not uninſtructive point of view, ſhews what ground there is for making them the objects of prohibition and temporal puniſhment, more eſpecially in ſuch a place.

time, from apparent ſubmiſſion real will enſue. Men become at length what they are forced to ſeem to be. Propenſities ſuppreſſed are weakened and by long continued ſuppreſſion killed.

A more conſolatory, a more inviting, and as it ſhould ſeem, a much more natural topic of converſation, is the melioration of their lot preſent and future: how they ſhall earn moſt by their work, and what they ſhall do with what they earn, now that they can do nothing but work, and that diſſipation in every ſhape is impoſſible, and all means of it out of reach: how to make the beſt of their preſent ſituation while it laſts: how to employ the diſtant though longed for period of their releaſe, in ſuch projects of productive induſtry and innocent enjoyment, as their recovered liberty will allow of, and as it would be among the objects of a good plan of management to hold up to them and to facilitate. To be engroſſed by the preſent moment is among the characteriſtics of that loweſt claſs of individuals, among whom the ſpecies of guilt which lead to this mode of puniſhment are moſt apt to be found: it is in a more eſpecial manner the character of ſuch of them as have actually fallen into thoſe ſnares. The force as well as evil effects of this propenſity ſtand demonſtrated by the very act by which they fell: being in one inſtance ſo powerful, is it rational then to conclude that in another

another it will be of no effect? Where a cauſe is one and the ſame, ſome degree of uniformity cannot but he looked for in its force: where its effects happen to be on the evil ſide they ought to be looked out for, and provided againſt: but neither are the good, merely becauſe they happen to be good, to be thrown out of the account and regarded as impoſſible.—No:—as it was the intereſt of the moment that ruled him in the one caſe, ſo will it in the other. When that irreſiſtible prompter beckoned him into the track of guilt, he fell into delinquency: now that with a much ſteadier finger it points to the paths of innocence he will confine himſelf to thoſe paths.

Reformation, therefore, mutual reformation ſeems in ſuch a ſtate of things happily much more probable than encreaſed corruption, even among thoſe who are already the moſt corrupt and hardened.

This nearer and leſs gloomy view of the probable future, I would wiſh to recommend to the attention of thoſe deſponding moraliſts, who led away by general and haſty conceptions, look upon the reformation of a thorough-bred London felon as an object altogether hopeleſs. Had delinquents of this deſcription been frequently ſeen under ſuch a courſe of diſcipline, and the reſult had been thus unfavourable,

unfavourable, the deſpondency would have ground to ſtand upon. But in what inſtance has an engine of any thing like ſuch power ever yet ſhown itſelf to human eyes?

Should ſecluſion puſhed to the very verge of abſolute ſolitude not yet promiſe enough, will *coloniſation* promiſe more? Turn to New South Wales: 2000 convicts of both ſexes and 160 ſoldiers (not to ſpeak of officers, jumbled together in one maſs, and mingling like beaſts: in two years, from 14 marriages, eighty-ſeven births: the morals of Otaheite introduced into New Holland, by the medium of old England*.

* See Governor Philip's Account of the Settlement, 4to, 1791. R. p. viii. 67, Mr. White's ditto, 4to, 1790, and Extracts of Letters and Accounts printed and laid before the Houſe of Commons, in purſuance of an order of April 8th, 1791, p. 3.

§ 5. *EMPLOY*

§ 5. EMPLOYMENT.

OF what nature ſhall be the employments carried on in this houſe? of what *quality*, in conſequence, the labour exacted of the priſoners?

2. In what *quantity* ſhall that labour be?

3. How much within the day? how many and what *working hours?*

4. Any more at one *ſeaſon* than another? and if ſo at what ſeaſon?

5. Any difference according to *length of ſtanding?* i. e. according to the ſhare which has elapſed of each man's reſpective term?

To each of theſe queſtions I will endeavour to find ſome anſwer. Not ſurely in every inſtance with the view of fettering my contractor: nor in any inſtance, is it for his ſake that I ſhould think of encroaching upon his free-will: but it will do him no harm at leaſt to hear what I have to ſay to him in the way of ſuggeſtion or advice. Beyond advice I ſhould never think of going with him in that view, though I were armed with all the powers of law: ſince the more inconteſtible the goodneſs

of the advice, in the ſhape of advice, the more palpable the inutility of it in the ſhape of obligation.

Of theſe five rules, the third, fourth, and fifth are inſerted here principally in deference to the Penitentiary Act: the fifth in particular, is one which would never, I confeſs, have gained entrance into my imagination, but through the medium of that ſtatute.

1. Of what quality? To that queſtion I muſt give three anſwers.

1. The moſt lucrative (ſaving the regard due to health) that can be found.

2. Not one only, but two at leaſt in alternation: and that in the courſe of the ſame day.

3. Among employments equally lucrative, ſedentary are preferable to laborious.

1. What then are the moſt lucrative, will it be aſked?—Who can ſay?——leaſt of any body the legiſlator. Sometimes one ſort, ſometimes another. No one ſort can poſſibly, unleſs by dint of ſecreſy or legal monopoly, ſtand in that predicament for ever. But there are thoſe which are eſſentially diſqualified from ever ſtanding in it. They are thoſe, as we ſhall ſee, which ſtand foremoſt on the liſt recommended by the Penitentiary Act.

2. Thus

2. Thus far however may be anſwered in the firſt inſtance: — No *one* ſort at any time: two at leaſt ſhould ſucceed one another in the courſe of the ſame day.——Why? becauſe no one ſort will anſwer all the conditions requiſite. Health muſt never be neglected: the great diviſion is into *ſedentary* and *laborious*. Conſult health, a ſedentary employment muſt be ſweetened every now and then by air and exerciſe: a laborious employment, by relaxation. But exerciſe is not the leſs ſerviceable to health for miniſtering to profit: nor does relaxation mean inaction: when inaction is neceſſary, ſleep is the reſource: a ſedentary employment is itſelf relaxation with regard to a laborious one. And though the body ſhould even be in a ſtate of perfect reſt, that need not be the caſe with the mind. When a man has worked as long as without danger to health he can do it at a ſedentary employment, he may therefore add to his working time, by betaking himſelf to a laborious one: when a man has worked as long as without pain and hardſhip he can do at a laborious employment, he may work longer by changing it for a ſedentary one. No one employment can therefore be ſo profitable by itſelf as it might be rendered by the addition of another. *Mixture of employments* then would be one great improvement in the economy of a priſon.

In

In the mixture thus made, which of the ingredients, ſuppoſing them on a par with reſpect to profit, ought on other accounts to predominate?—The ſedentary, and that upon two grounds: *economy* and *peace*. The harder the labour, the more in quantity and the more nouriſhing in quality the food requiſite to enable a man to go through with it. At the ſame time the higher fed a man in ſuch a ſituation is, the more robuſt and formidable he will be in caſe of his becoming refractory, and the more likely to become ſo. Among men in general, but more particularly among men of a deſcription ſo untamed, a daring temper is the natural concomitant of a robuſt frame. A blackſmith or ſawyer will naturally require more food, and that of a more ſubſtantial kind, than a weaver, a ſtaymaker, or a taylor. This latter conſideration, it is true, refers only to the common plans: in a Panopticon, be the priſoners well or ill fed, ſtrong or weak, the peace of the houſe is equally ſecure*.

Mixture

* I forget what little tyrant it was of Greece, whoſe policy, we are told it was, in the view of keeping his ſubjects quiet, to encourage them to betake themſelves to unathletic occupations: in the language of the good old cut-throat morality, effeminate ones. I have taken a leaf I confeſs out of that tyrant's book; the application I make of it will not, I hope, be charged with tyranny.

In my humble way of thinking, the facility of ſtifling diſpoſitions unfavourable to ſecurity, is preferable to the glory of ſubduing them, or the neceſſity of puniſhing them.

Among laborious employments the greater part arm the body; all arm the mind. Why give any unneceſſary encreaſe to the force

Mixture miniſters to economy in other ways: it helps quantity: it improves quality. By variety it renders each leſs irkſome: but the leſs irkſome a man's work is to him, the more as well as the better he will work.

Could a man be made even to find amuſement in his work, why ſhould not he? and what ſhould hinder him?—Are not moſt female amuſements works? Are not all manly exerciſes hard labour?*

2. How

force which it is your great ſtudy to keep in ſubjection? The more active, the ſtronger: and the ſtronger, the more ungovernable. Vigour and courage in a felon conſtitute the danger and the weakneſs, as in the good citizen they do the ſtrength and ſecurity, of the ſtate.

All this, be it once more obſerved, regards the common plans merely. In a Panopticon I ſhould not care how robuſt my priſoners were: nor even how they were armed, ſo it were not with fire-arms. In a common Penitentiary-houſe, in the ſort of priſon built by the Penitentiary Act, the difference is no trifle. There they are to be in crowds: a ſingle turnkey or taſk-maſter to watch over them: he incloſed in the ſame room with them, and without any thing to keep them at a diſtance: they furniſhed with tools and materials for hard work, convertible into weapons of offence: the room cloſed and ſcreened from view like other rooms; aſſiſtance out of view and out of reach.

* It is an obſervation made ſomewhere, I think, by Locke, in his book on Education, that for children amuſement is to be obtained not leſs effectually from cheap and profitable occupations than from unprofitable and expenſive ones. A recommendation he accordingly gives is, to make a point on all occaſions of giving to employments of the former deſcription the preference over thoſe of the latter. If the propriety of the preference is indiſputable with regard to youthful innocence, how much more palpably ſo in the caſe of malefactors, whoſe occupations are to be allotted to them in the way of puniſhment for their crimes?

2. How much in *quantity?*—Of courſe as much as can be extracted from each without prejudice to health. The queſtion is already put: the anſwer already given: it is given by the rule of economy; it is given by the rule of ſeverity: nor is there any thing in the rule of lenity to contradict it. What then ſhould be the *working-hours?* As many of the four and twenty as the demand for meals and ſleep leave unengaged.

Would the number be too great to be ſpent in an employment of the laborious claſs? Give the ſurplus to a ſedentary one. Suppoſe then two employments of the different claſſes equally productive: and that the laborious one is too fatiguing to be continued during half the number of the working hours: what is to be done?—Take away from this employment hour after hour and transfer them to the unlaborious one: do this, till there remains no more of the former than a man can fill up in that manner, without being debarred by the fatigue from beſtowing the whole remainder of the diſpoſable time on the ſedentary employment.

To what imaginable good purpoſe, even in the way of amuſement, could ſo much as a moment of abſolute inaction ſerve? To converſation? But what ſhould hinder their talking from morning till night if they are diſpoſed for it?—Not meals certainly:——No, nor work neither: few laborious employments

employments exclude converſation, and ſcarce any ſedentary ones.

3. More hours at one *ſeaſon* than another?—— Another queſtion already anſwered: and anſwered in the negative. In all ſeaſons as much as may be: therefore at no ſeaſon more or leſs than at another; Leſs of the laborious perhaps at one time than another: viz. leſs now and then, when the heat of the weather is ſuch as to render the laborious employment too fatiguing: but then ſo much the more of the ſedentary. Now and then the heat may be ſo great for a part of the twenty-four hours that almoſt any ſort of bodily exertion would be hardſhip. Be it ſo:—but if this can happen at any time, it is only by accident: it is not the effect of the ſeaſon, but the event of the day. And though the body reſt, it is no reaſon why the mind ſhould lie in waſte. Though it be too hot for inſtance to weave, it will hardly be too hot to write, to read, or hear a leſſon.

4. Fewer hours, or leſs work done in the time, at one degree of *ſtanding* in the priſon than at another?—Why ſhould there? or, conſiſtently with the rules already laid down can there be? At every period as much work as can be obtained, as great a part of the twenty-fours employed in work, as conſiſtently with the above limitation, can be: therefore in every part the ſame.

Thus

Thus ſays plain humble economy.—What ſays the Penitentiary Act?—We ſhall ſee.—The firſt thing it does is to ſet out with a wrong object: labour for labour's ſake.—Had economy been the mark, the demands of lenity, as well as of due ſeverity, might have been all along ſatisfied with little trouble and without any expence. Abandoning the firſt, it attains neither of the other two: aiming, ſometimes at the ſecond, ſometimes at the third, it attains neither. Vaſt expence in ſtraining the diſcipline, and it is inordinately relaxed: vaſt expence in relaxing it, and it is intolerably ſevere.

At the firſt ſtep, economy is kicked out of doors. Two claſſes of priſoners: two claſſes of employments: one requiring the moſt violent exertions, the other none. Whether a priſoner ſhall be put to the one or to the other is to depend—upon what?—the money to be earned?—No: but up- "on age, ſex, health, and ability"—age, ſex, health, and ability, and nothing elſe. What is the profeſſed object?—Profit?—No.—*Hardneſs*, *ſervility*, *drudgery*—and there it ends.—"Every" priſoner is to be "kept"—yes—*every* priſoner.....ſo far as is conſiſtent with....." ſex, age, health "and ability, to labour of the hardeſt and moſt "ſervile kind, in which drudgery is chiefly re- "quired".....ſuch as "treading in a wheel, "drawing in a capſtern," and ſo forth:....." and "thoſe of leſs health and ability, regard being alſo

"had

" had to age and ſex, in picking oakum, weaving, " ſpinning, knitting, or any other leſs laborious " employment."—[§ 33.] How many then are to be employed in the ſedentary ſort of employments? —As many as can be employed to greater advantage than in the other?—No: but thoſe and thoſe only to whom for want of health and ability, the " hard," and " ſervile," and " drudging" work cannot be given. No picking, no weaving, no ſpinning, no knitting, though orders came without number for that ſort of work, and not one for the labour of the capſtern or the wheel. It is to be a mere Catherine wheel, or an Ixion's wheel: a mere engine of puniſhment and nothing elſe. Two modes of employment preſent themſelves: the firſt as hard work again as the ſecond, the ſecond as profitable again as the firſt: the individual equally free for either—What can be done? either the unprofitable one muſt be given him, and the profitable one rejected, or the principle of the Act departed from, and its injunctions flatly diſobeyed.

We are told ſomewhere towards the cloſe of Sully's Memoirs, that for ſome time after the deceaſe of that great and honeſt miniſter, certain high mounts were to be ſeen at no great diſtance from his houſe. Theſe mounts were ſo many monuments of his charity: for thoſe of his economy ſtood upon very different and more public ground.

The poor in his neighbourhood happened to have induſtry to ſpare, and the beſt employment he could find for it was, to remove dirt from the place where it lay, to another where it was of no uſe.

By the mere force of innate genius, and without having ever put himſelf to ſchool to learn economy of a French miniſter, a plain Engliſh jailor, whom Howard met with, was ſeen practiſing this revived ſpecies of pyramid architecture in miniature. He had got a parcel of ſtones together, ſhot them down at one end of his yard, and ſet the priſoners to lug them to the other: the taſk atchieved, *now* ſays he, *you may fetch them back again.* Being aſked what was the object of this induſtry, his anſwer was—"*to plague the priſoners.*" This hiſtory is a parable: this governor, the type of our legiſlator. Aſk him, *what is work good for?* anſwer—*to plague priſoners?**

We have ſeen the *conſtant* benefit of *alternation.*—What ſays the Act?—Laborious with laborious, ſedentary, with ſedentary, if you pleaſe.—Sedentary with laborious?—Yes? if you can make a priſoner go backwards and forwards from conſtitution to conſtitution, from ſex to ſex, and from age

* Howard on Lazarettos, p. 147.—I beg the Jailor's pardon: what is above was from memory: his contrivance was the ſetting them to ſaw wood with a blunt ſaw, made blunt on purpoſe. The removers of mounts were a Committee of Juſtices.

age to age.—We have ſeen the *occaſional* benefit of *change*. What latitude does the Act allow on this head?—The ſame. Should a greedy Governor attempt in either way to ſmuggle economy into the houſe, the rigid hand of a Committee-man, or an Inſpector, or a viſiting Juſtice, might pull him by the ſleeve and ſay to him, *Sir, this muſt not be:—it is contrary to law. You may put thoſe of the one claſs to tread in a wheel, draw in a capſtern, ſaw ſtone, poliſh marble, beat hemp, raſp logwood, chop rags, or make cordage, as you pleaſe: you may ſet the others to pick oakum, weave ſacks, ſpin yarn, or knit nets.—But know, Sir, that by him who is for the capſtern or the wheel, no nets are to be knit, yarn to be ſpun, ſacks to be woven, or oakum to be picked. When the capſtern heaver has hoven till he can heave no more, he is to ſit, lie, or ſtand ſtill and lounge: when he who has been picking oakum is in want of air and exerciſe, he may go and take a walk, provided his walking hour be come, and that no other uſe be made of it. And mind, Sir, that a man of the wheel walking caſt be not turned over to oakum picking; although all the wheels ſhould be engaged, or although there ſhould be a demand more than can be ſupplied for the oakum and none for the labour of the wheel.——For know, Sir, that we are in Hindoſtan: Bramah has ſpoken: the caſts muſt not be confounded.———*

Imagination!

Imagination! imagination! — as if there were a magiſtrate in the kingdom that could hold ſuch language.—O yes, many: patience and we ſhall ſee. Mean time, does not the Act ſay all this?—What does it ſay then?——What is the object of the clauſe, or what the uſe of it?

What is at the bottom of this predilection for hard labour? — Sound—The labour is *made* hard that it may be *called hard*: and it is called *hard*, that it may be frightful, for fear men ſhould fall in love with it. *Hard labour* was the original object. The error is no new one: Sentences of commitment to hard labour are as frequent in our penal code as the execution of them has been rare. It is no peculiar one: it is to be found upon the continent as well as here. Dutch *Raſp-houſe*—Flemiſh *Maiſon de Force*—every thing impreſſed the mind with the idea of hard labour. *Houſe of hard labour* was accordingly the original name. *Houſe of hard labour*, it was ſuggeſted by ſomebody, is a name by which no houſe will ever be called, and the well-imagined word *Penitentiary-houſe* was put in its ſtead. But though the name was laid aſide, the impreſſion which had ſuggeſted that name remained in force.

The policy of thus giving a bad name to induſtry, the parent of wealth and population, and ſetting it up as a ſcare-crow to frighten criminals with,

with, is what I muſt confeſs I cannot enter into the ſpirit of. I can ſee no uſe in making it either odious or infamous. I ſee little danger of a man's liking work of any kind too well: nor if by miſchance it ſhould fail of providing him in ſuffering enough, do I ſee the ſmalleſt difficulty of adding to the hardneſs of his lot, and that without any addition to the hardneſs of his labour. Do we want a bugbear? Poor indeed muſt be our invention, if we can find nothing that will ſerve but induſtry? Is coarſe diet nothing? Is confinement, is loſs of liberty in every ſhape nothing? To me it would ſeem but ſo much the better, if a man could be taught to love labour, inſtead of being taught to loath it. Occupation, inſtead of the priſoner's ſcourge, ſhould be called and ſhould be made as much as poſſible, a cordial to him. It is in itſelf ſweet in compariſon of forced idleneſs; and the produce of it will give it a double ſavour. The mere exertion, the mere naked energy is amuſement, where looſer ones are not to be found. Take it in either point of view, induſtry is a bleſſing—why paint it as a curſe? *

Hard

* The Chevalier Paulet's views on this head ſuit better, I muſt confeſs, with mine. In his eſtabliſhment, a capital article in the penal liſt is the puniſhment of forced idleneſs; and without dividing his boys for the purpoſe into two claſſes and three claſſes, or plaguing his managers with governing Committees, he contrives to render it ſufficiently uncomfortable. See an intereſting account of the eſtabliſhment of that generous and intelligent philanthropiſt in the Repoſitory, vol. 1.

Hard labour?—labour harder than ordinary, in a priſon?—not only it has no buſineſs there, but a priſon is the only place in which it is not to be had. Is it exertion that you want? violent exertion? reward not puniſhment is the office you muſt apply to. Compulſion and ſlavery muſt in a race like this be ever an unequal match for encouragement and liberty: and the rougher the ground the more unequal. By what contrivance could any man be made to do in a jail the work that any common coal-heaver will do when at large? By what compulſion could a porter be made to carry the burthen which he would carry with pleaſure for half a crown? He would pretend to ſink under it: and how could you detect him? Perhaps he *would* ſink under it: ſo much does the body depend upon the mind. By what threats could you make a man walk four hundred miles, as Powell did, in ſix days? Give up then the paſſion for Penitentiary hard labour, and among employments not unhealthy put up with whatever is moſt productive.

It is to this grim phantom of hard labour that economy however is ſacrificed in a thouſand ſhapes. Trades fixed, though they ſhould be loſing ones: working-hours, half, as we ſhall ſee, ſtruck off at one ſtroke: then a conſiderable ſhare of the remaining pittance: then again a double ſhare: laborious

borious employments preſcribed to the excluſion of ſedentary ones: employments which demand much food to the excluſion of thoſe which require but little: and after all theſe ſacrifices, and all this regulation, more regulation added, by which it is made impoſſible, as we ſhall ſee, to have hard labour as hard here as elſewhere.

As to the general complexion of the employment the Act as we have ſeen is peremptory: as to the particular ſpecies, it contents itſelf with recommendation. But even recommendation had much better have been left alone. Bad or good, a recommendation in ſuch a matter has no buſineſs in a law. Bad, it is pernicious: good, it is unneceſſary. Is an Act of Parliament a place to ſay to a man, *Sir, here is a trade which will anſwer your purpoſe?*

Good when given, it will be bad ſoon after. Two things, and two things only, a ſecret and a monopoly, can give to any ſort of trade a permanent ſuperiority of advantage. Bad, it is poſitively pernicious: it is not ſimply uſeleſs. Recommendation falling from ſuch a height acquires force, and has the effect of a command. We ſhall ſee it has. Unfortunately, the recommendations given here are not only bad in the details, but bad in principle. Bad in principle, by aſſuming that human force when ſeparated from human reaſon is capable

capable of being made uſe of to advantage. Bad in detail, by exhibiting among the modes of giving application to human force, ſome that are peculiarly diſadvantageous.

In the firſt place, bad in principle. There are two modes of applying human labour: one is where the taſk of *generating* the force and that of giving *direction* to it are the work of the ſame man: as in common ſawing performed by hand: or turning in a foot lathe. The other is, where the taſk of *production* is performed by one man and that of *direction* by another: as in a turning lathe turned by a detached wheel. In the latter way human labour, when employed for the mere purpoſe of labour, can never be employed to advantage upon a large ſcale. Why? becauſe not to mention wind, water, and ſteam, there are always animals to be found, any one of which may be made to generate more force than many men, without coſting ſo much to keep as one. If then all the brute force you want is no more than what a ſingle man is enough to generate, human labour may ſo far be employed in that way to advantage: for you cannot have a beaſt to work without employing a human creature, a boy at leaſt, to keep it to its work*. But if the quantity of force you want is any

* The inſtance of a *turnſpit dog* is an exception: but the force that can be generated in that way, is but ſmall, and that for no long continuance.

Could

any thing above what one man can generate and keep up for a ſufficient length of time, to employ hu-

Could an *elephant* be made to tread in a wheel in the ſame manner? If he could, here would be a ſource of mechanical power not to be deſpiſed in Hindoſtan. Whether it could ever be worth while in an economical view to keep an animal of this ſort merely for that purpoſe is another conſideration. But wherever elephants are kept already, either for military purpoſes or for ſhow, their labour, could it be employed in this way at all, might be employed to very conſiderable advantage. If, at twice or thrice, an elephant could be made to walk in this way to the amount of ſix hours in a day, three elephants relieving one another would keep up a fund of motion that would laſt 18 hours out of the 24, which is more than the uſual number of working hours in a day: four elephants would keep up a perpetual motion. Speaking from the moment (for reflection and reſearch on ſuch an occaſion will hardly be expected) there are few wind-mills or water-mills, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that occupy ſo great a force. In a wheel of a ſize ſufficient to admit an animal of this bulk the acclivity would be very gradual: and the height would be ſuch as would admit of a rider, if neceſſary, without difficulty. The form as well as manners of the animal ſeem to render it at leaſt as fit for this ſort of ſervice as a turnſpit dog: much more ſo than any of the common beaſts of draught: though even theſe, could they be made to work at all in this way, might perhaps in this way be worked to more advantage, than by drawing.

Where they are kept for military purpoſes, the profit that might thus be made of their labour in time of peace might thus pay for the heavy expence of their maintenance in time of actual ſervice. Even where they are kept merely for ſtate, reaſons for employing them in this manner would not be wanting. It would be a means of preſerving their health, which otherwiſe may be ſoon deſtroyed, and the life of the animal cut ſhort for want of exerciſe. Several animals of this ſort have been imported into this country in the courſe of the preſent reign. Two at a time I remember ſeeing at the Queen's houſe. The uncomfortable ſtate in which they were kept, debarred from all exercise and confined to a ſmall ſtable, where they had ſcarcely room to turn or even ſtand at their eaſe, ſoon proved fatal to theſe noble quadrupeds, whoſe lives nature had deſigned to emulate in duration thoſe of the firſt patriarchs among men.

man force in that brute way, can never anſwer: an old blind horſe, an ox, perhaps even an aſs, will turn a wheel, a little boy will ſerve for driving, and the keep of beaſt and boy together will perhaps not exceed the keep of one man, certainly not equal that of two *.

The elementary *primum mobiles*, wind, water, ſteam, wherever they can be applied are applied, as being cheaper, in preference even to the animal: ſtill cheaper of courſe they muſt be than that which conſiſts of human labour †.

But do not you yourſelf make this uſe of human labour? do not you employ in this way, not one, not two of your priſoners, but the whole number?—Yes: that

* Nor yet can it anſwer to employ a man for generating force, but upon the ſuppoſition that the whole quantity of the commodity capable of finding a market is no more than what the brute force generated by two men is able to produce. Suppoſe it equal to the force of three men, one man to give direction to the force with a beaſt and a boy to drive it, could afford the commodity ſo much cheaper as to break the other two, with their reſpective *directing* partners.

† In the economy of mechanical operations one of the moſt fertile ſources of improvement is the ſeparating the art of giving direction to force, from the labour of generating it. Great is the advantage that may be made in this way even where this latter operation is left to man: much greater of courſe where it is turned over to more proper agents. A ſingle man, or in many inſtances a ſingle child, and that a very young one, may find direction for a very powerful machine, or a very numerous aſſemblage of leſs powerful ones: inſtance the ſpinning machines, and the various other engines employed in the manufactories of the different ſorts of cloths.

that I do: but why? becauſe I get it for nothing: which is ſtill leſs than what the boy and the aſs would coſt me. I can underſell the broom-maker, who ſtole the ſticks: I ſteal my brooms ready made. The labour I employ in this way, I ſteal the whole of it from idleneſs. The ſame labour does the buſineſs of health and the economy at the ſame time. My priſoners, if they did not walk in a wheel, muſt, like other priſoners, walk out of a wheel: and in the latter caſe the ſame degree of exerciſe would require more time ſpent in walking than in the former.

Inexpediency in detail is another property of theſe imperious recommendations. For inſtances of laborious employments, eight ſorts of operations are promiſcuouſly brought together: "treading in a "wheel, or drawing in a capſtern for turning a "mill or other engine, ſawing ſtone, poliſhing "marble, beating hemp, raſping logwood, chop-"ping rags, and making cordage."

What are we to underſtand from this heterogeneous ſpecification? In the two firſt inſtances the only thing mentioned is the mode of *generating* the force: in the other ſix, the *direction* to be given to it, the application to be made of it. Is it that the force generated as in the two firſt inſtances, is meant to be applied to produce the effects reſpectively ſpecified in the other ſix?—Hardly. Sawing

ſtone

ſtone and poliſhing marble, I am aſſured, are operations that have never yet been performed any otherwiſe than *by hand*. Beating hemp and raſping logwood are performed thriftily by wind and water, unthriftily here and there perhaps by hand: hemp beating eſpecially ſo unthriftily as to be baniſhed from all free manufactories and confined to priſons, where its ſole uſe is, like that of the blunt ſaw, to plague thoſe who work with it. Chopping rags is performed at all paper-mills I ever ſaw or heard of, by the force of that element, an abundant ſupply of which is eſſential to the manufacture. Was a buſineſs like this ever performed by a mill or other engine moved by a walking-wheel or capſtern? I muſt have good proof of it before I believe it. My concluſion is that in the recommendation of the wheel and the capſtern "for turning "a mill or other engine," the views of the legiſlator had not got the length of pitching upon any particular ſort of work to be performed by the mill or other engine, that the operations mentioned immediately afterwards were not meant as inſtances of work to be performed by ſuch means, but that the intention was that they ſhould all of them be performed by hand. If ſo, two different miſrecommendations are enveloped in this one clauſe. One is, the employing of human labour for the generation of brute force in preference to the elementary and other irrational agents: the other is, the

the performing by hand a variety of operations, not only to the neglect of the moſt advantageous methods of employing machinery, but to the neglect of thoſe very methods which itſelf has been pointing out.

As to the making of cordage, the ineligibility of ſuch an employment for ſuch a place has been pretty fully ſhown above*. Immenſe ſpace, that ſpace encloſed at an immenſe expence, which be it ever ſo immenſe will hardly be ſufficient, and all this to carry on a manufactory of implements of eſcape.

The ſtrangeſt recommendation is that which is intimated by the placing the labour of the wheel and that of the capſtern on the ſame line, as if indifferently applicable to the ſame purpoſes. The firſt is of all the known modes of generating pure force by human exertion the moſt advantageous: the other, unleſs in very particular circumſtances, perhaps the leaſt ſo. In the place in queſtion theſe circumſtances are never to be found. Compared with a perpendicular wheel the ſort of horizontal wheel called a capſtern would in ſuch a place be a miſerable contrivance. The moſt painful and intolerable muſcular contraction will not produce in the latter way, a quantity of force approaching to that which is produced by the ſucceſſive application of

* Part I, § 20.

of the weight of the body in the mere act of walking in the other. The capſtern-heaver would be dead before the wheel-walker felt the ſenſation of fatigue*. The advantage of that horizontal wheel is, that you can put more men by far to it than you can put to the perpendicular one: you can lengthen the levers, you can multiply them to a great degree. You could even put ſtory of them over ſtory. Hence it is of uſe where, having plenty of men, who if not employed in this way could not be employed at all, you want now and then a heavy lot of work done in a ſhort time: Such is the caſe in ſeamanſhip. Accordingly in ſeamanſhip the capſtern is made uſe of with great advantage: in heaving anchors out, in raiſing them and ſo forth: and I queſtion whether there be another inſtance †. Since the world began I do believe it has never been employed to keep up a conſtant force.

Even

* According to Deſaguliers, the force which a man can exert in towing is upon an average equal to no more than 27lb. that is, a force that would ſerve to raiſe a weight to that amount: for inſtance ſo much water out of a well. But "drawing in a capſtern" is towing. According to the ſame philoſopher, 14clb. may be reckoned the average weight of a man: with this whole force a man acts, when walking in a wheel. The principle of the walking-wheel is therefore more than 5 times as advantageous as that of the capſtern.

† Am I right? I think I have traced the error to its ſource. On board the ballaſt-lighters the capſtern was employed to raiſe gravel: for the Captain was a ſeaman. Now as anchors are raiſed in that manner, why not gravel? On board the ballaſt-lighters gravel is raiſed upon the capſtern principle: and that ſurely is hard labour. But hard labour is the very thing we want, and there it is for us.

Even laying profit out of the queſtion, as the authors of the Penitentiary Act do, and ſetting up labour as its own end without looking for any thing beyond it, we ſhall find the leſſon equally pregnant with deluſion. Even in this point of view, nothing can be more oppoſite than the labour of the capſtern and that of the wheel. Wheel-work is open to abuſe on neither ſide: capſtern-work, on both ſides*. Lazineſs on the part of the workman, negligence or partiality on the part of the Inſpector, may reduce the exertion to nothing: tyranny may ſcrew it up to a pitch fatal to life.

Nor is wheel-work leſs happily adapted to the purpoſes of economy in other points of view. Knowing by trial the quantity of force neceſſary for giving motion to your wheel, you can provide for the keeping up of that force with the utmoſt certainty: you can know before hand what each man can and will do, as well as afterwards whether he

* Wheel-work is mere foot exerciſe: capſtern work is arm-exerciſe: in the former the effect is the immediate reſult of muſcular exertion, and proportioned to that exertion be it ever ſo great or ever ſo little: in the latter it is the reſult of mere weight: the weight of the body ſucceſſively applied to the different parts of the circumference of a wheel: and ſo long as the ſame pace is kept up, that weight, as well as the exertion by which it is applied, is invariably the ſame.

In the wheel-work, if there were twenty men in a wheel you could know exactly what each man's exertion was, and what the ſhare it had in the production of the common effect: in the capſtern-work, though there were but two men you could not aſcertain either man's ſhare.

he has or has not done it. In this way, as no man can cheat you, nor is the quantity of work dependent at all upon good-will, ſlave's work is worth as much as freeman's work, neither being capable of doing more nor better than the other in the ſame time*.

The

* Could not a man cheat, it may be ſaid, by ſetting his foot down on the ſame ſpot from which he took it up, or even backward inſtead of forward? I ſhould doubt it: and if it were feaſible, an effectual remedy might be found. Even in a ſingle wheel (I mean a wheel with a ſingle man in it) the *impetus* already acquired by a few turns would make it much eaſier to a man to go on than to ſtep backward or in the ſame place: much more in a double wheel, eſpecially if the deceit were practiſed by one alone without the concurrence of the other. In the only walking wheel I ever ſaw (which was made for a carriage to go without horſes) there were ſteps in the inſide for the convenience of treading. Theſe would ſerve likewiſe to render deceit more difficult, as well as to maintain regularity in the pace. But deceit might at any rate be prevented, eſpecially with the help of theſe treading-boards, by preſcribing the number of ſteps to be taken within a certain time: a ſmall index-wheel connected with the main-wheel, as in the inſtrument called a *way-wiſer* for meaſuring ground, would ſerve to ſhew with the utmoſt exactneſs how far the junction had been obſerved.

In ſome inſtances the quantity of the *effect* produced might be made to ſhew the number of turns that had been given to the wheel: for example, in raiſing water, the quantity of water that had been raiſed. But this depends upon the nature of the work, and the inſtances in which it would hold good are comparatively but few. The index-wheel (which of courſe muſt be ſituated in ſuch a manner as to be out of the reach of having its indications falſified by the labourers in the wheel) is therefore the preferable reſource.

To keep the force thus gained to an equality, in any operation in regard to which the difference in point of weight between man and man were liable to produce occaſional deficiencies, the [illegible] whoſe natural weight was under the mark might carry artificial weight

The regulation about hours ſtrikes me, I muſt confeſs, as a moſt extraordinary one. Working-hours, never more than ten out of the four and twenty: and for a quarter of the year not more than eight: eight for three months, nine for two months more, and ten for the other ſeven. For greater certainty, a *curfew* clauſe: all lights and fires out before nine. Of the quantity of labour that might be had, more than 5 parts out of 15 in point of *time*, more than one third, as we ſhall ſee, thrown away for the ſake of getting the other 9 or 10 of a hard ſort: and all the while by this very limitation in point of time matters ſo arranged, that it ſhall be not only difficult on other accounts to have the labour as hard here as elſewhere, but upon this account impoſſible.—This an Act for the promotion of hard labour?—Say rather for the prevention of it.

What a leſſon to the country!—that little more than half the labour the honeſt poor, the induſtrious tradeſman, are forced to go through in order to live, is a lot too hard for felons! What is the tendency, not to ſay the fruit, of all this hard labour ſo unhappily beſtowed in the field of legiſlation?

weight in proportion: and if with this addition the exerciſe were too much for any one, a proportionable abatement might be made to him in the article of *time*. Weight might thus be carried, not as in the equeſtrian phraſe *for inches*, but for lightneſs and for ſtrength.

on?—To render hard labour impoſſible in the place it is ſpecially deſtined for, and odious every where elſe.

In one circumſtance of it the regulation is a perfect riddle to me:--moſt work when the weather is hotteſt. That the number of working-hours ſhould be made variable according to the heat of the weather, how little neceſſary ſoever as we have ſeen, was however natural enough: but the principle by which the variation is determined ſeems a perfect paradox. When was the number to be the greateſt? when the ſeaſon was hotteſt:—in the height of ſummer. When the leaſt?——when the ſeaſon was coldeſt:—in the depth of winter: in the temperate months it was to take a middle courſe.—What can have been the object here:—In a clauſe in which the quantity of labour was directly and profeſſedly limited and reduced, one ſhould have thought, it had been lenity and indulgence. But where is the indulgence of working a man hardeſt when he is hotteſt, and giving him leaſt work when work would be a bleſſing to him to keep him from the cold?

Even the propriety of marking the temperature in this imperfect and indirect way, by the ſeaſon, inſtead of the perfect and direct way, would itſelf be queſtionable. For obſerve the conſequence.—Work is to be leſſened (or as this clauſe will have it increaſed) upon the ſuppoſition of its being ſul-

try:

try: when perhaps it is below temperate. Work is to be increaſed (or as this clauſe will have it diminiſhed) upon the ſuppoſition of its being hard weather: when perhaps it is above temperate. Whether the thermometer is between 20 and 40, or between 50 and 60, or between 60 and 80 is a fact juſt as eaſy to aſcertain as whether it be January, April or Auguſt. If the idea of regulating work by temperature is not ridiculous, it is not accuracy that will render it ſo. If heat and cold are to be meaſured, it is ſurely as well to do it by a right ſtandard as by a wrong one.

But we have already ſeen that it is *quality* only and not *quantity* of work that ought to be influenced by temperature: and that neither the one nor the other ought to be regulated by law.

Eight then and no more, is the greateſt number of hours during which in the cold ſeaſon any ſort of work, ſedentary or laborious, is in this eſtabliſhment for hard labour to be carried on. So at leaſt ſays § 34. True it is, that by § 45 a poſſibility is created of a priſoner's working at additional hours over and above thoſe which have been mentioned. A poſſibility?—Yes: and that is quite enough to ſay of it. A ſpecial permiſſion muſt be given by the Committee—it is to be given only "to the "moſt diligent and meritorious"—only "in the way of reward, or "encouragement"—they may chooſe

chooſe whether they will give it in this ſhape, or in that of an allowance of a part of the earnings of the ſtated hours——it is to be only "during the in-"tervals of the ſtated labour" not therefore in any interval between a time of labour and any other time, ſuch as that of reſt or meals—all "working "tools, implements and materials".....that "will "admit of daily removal" are by § 34 to be "re-"moved" when the "hours of work are paſſed, "to places proper for their ſafe cuſtody, there to be kept till the hour of labour ſhall return"—and by § 40, "the doors of all the lodging-rooms are "to be locked" (with the priſoners I ſuppoſe in "them) and all lights therein extinguiſhed, after "the hour of nine."

A poſſibility (did I ſay?) of extra-work?—Yes, and what is there more. The Governor, on whom it ſo unavoidably depends, has motives given him for thwarting it, and none for forwarding it. None for forwarding it, ſince the earnings at theſe extra-hours are to go entire to the priſoner-work-men, no part of them to him: But of the labour of the ſtated hours a great part, if not the whole, is to go to him*. Of the hard work, which is the only ſort the Act allows of where hard work can be got, ſo much as can be got within the compaſs of the ſtated hours he will therefore be ſure to get from them. But of the only two ſpecies of labour which

* § 20.

which the Act exhibits at the head of the list of ſpecimens and patterns, (treading in a wheel and heaving at a capſtern) there is not one which it would be poſſible for a taſk-maſter to compel the continuance of, ſo much as during eight hours of the twenty-four, the ſmalleſt of the numbers of ſtated hours preſcribed. Judge then whether he will give up any of that time which is his, in order to make *them* a preſent of it*.

Another anticlimax not leſs extraordinary is yet behind: labour made leſs and leſs according to length of ſtanding. When a man has ſerved a third of his time, ſo much is to be ſtruck from off his work:† when two thirds, ſo much more. Leſs and leſs of it there is thus to be, the more valuable it is become to every body, the eaſier it fits upon himſelf, and the nearer he is arrived to the period, when he will have that and nothing elſe to depend upon for his ſubſiſtence‡.

What

* What then does this clauſe amount to?—any thing or nothing. Shall we aſk the Glouceſter magiſtrates?—Their deciſion is in the negative. Punctual copyiſts of the other proviſions of the Act, they have paſſed this by without notice.

† "From his confinement and labour" ſays the Act. § 38.

‡ "The offenders....ſhall be divided into three claſſes; which "ſhall be called the *firſt*, *ſecond*, and *third* claſs; for which "purpoſe the time for which ſuch offenders ſhall ſeverally be "committed ſhall be divided into three equal parts; and during "the firſt part of the time of the impriſonment of every ſuch "offender, he or ſhe ſhall be ranked in the firſt claſs, and during "the ſecond part of ſuch time, he or ſhe ſhall be ranked in "the ſecond claſs, and during the third and laſt part of ſuch "time, he or ſhe ſhall be ranked in the third claſs; and the con-

"finement

What is at the bottom of all this contrivance?—poſſibly the principle of the *blunt ſaw:* when priſoners require moſt *plaguing*, moſt labour is to be got out of them: when leſs plaguing will ſuffice, the ſuperfluous labour is to be toſſed by, as being of no further uſe. While their work is troubleſome to them and they are aukward at it, and it is worth but little, they are to be made do as much of it as they can: the more it comes to be worth, as it anſwers in a leſs degree the purpoſe of *plaguing* them, the leſs of it there is to be.

At Weſtminiſter ſchool, the climax of inſtruction takes, if it is not much altered within theſe thirty years, a ſomewhat different courſe.—Whatever be the taſk, the longer a boy has been about it, the greater is the quantity of it expected from him in a given time. Memory, invention, whatever be the faculty concerned the ſuppoſition is, that it would rather be improved than impaired, fortified than debilitated, by uſe. If ten lines are to be got by heart for an exerciſe in the ſecond form, twenty lines are to be maſtered in the ſame way in the third.

" ſinement and labour of ſuch offenders as ſhall from time to
" time be ranked in the firſt claſs, ſhall be moſt ſtrict and ſevere,
" and the confinement and labour of the offenders ranked in the
" ſecond claſs, ſhall be more moderate, and the confinement and
" labour of thoſe ranked in the third claſs, ſhall be ſtill more
" *relaxed*; which ſeveral degrees of confinement and labour, ſo
" to be affixed to each claſs, ſhall from time to time be ſettled by
" the Committee, by orders of regulation to be approved of in
" manner aforeſaid, but ſo as not to defeat or elude the ſpecial
" proviſions made and appointed by this Act."

third. If a Greek diſtich is to be conſtrued and parſed in the fourth form, a tetraſtich is to be diſcuſſed within the ſame time and in the ſame manner in the fifth. The ſuppoſition there evidently is, that learning is a good thing, that the more a boy can be made to imbibe of it the better, and that in ſhort he could hardly have too much. That any propoſition to this effect was hung up in any part of the ſchool-room, is more than I ever heard. But if it had been, it could not have been more thoroughly recognized, nor the truth of it more ſteadily aſſumed in practice. In theſe new invented ſchools of penitence and induſtry, a propoſition not leſs ſteadily aſſumed and implicitly conformed to is, that induſtry, a productive labour, is a bad thing: that it is fit only for puniſhment: that an honeſt man cannot have too little of it: that it is only for felons, and for them only while the marks of guilt are freſh upon their heads: that the leſs of it a man goes through, the better it is for him. Accordingly the object of this clauſe is to wean him from it by degrees: regarding it as fit not for ordinary diet, but only for phyſic, the doſe of it is leſſened in proportion as the effect, with a view to which it was firſt adminiſtered, is ſuppoſed to be produced

For my part, I ſee nothing in the principle purſued in the ſchool of literature that ſhould render it unfit for adoption in the ſchool of productive induſtry: I can find nothing in the deſign of either

inſtitution

inſtittution that ſhould prevent its reception in the other. But were there in this caſe a repugnancy that I do not ſee, ſo that all that I could obtain were the option of giving it to the one or to the other as I choſe, I muſt confeſs it would be to the more humble eſtabliſhment of the two that I ſhould be diſpoſed to give the preference. It is by reading Latin and Greek that we learn to read Greek and Latin: but it is by digging, and grinding, and weaving, that we live.

I have ſometimes thought that, conſidering the light in which the matter ſeems to have been viewed, induſtry has been let off tolerably cheap, and that it is a happineſs the diviſions in this newly deviſed ſchool of induſtry have not been more than half the number of thoſe in the ſchool of literature. Had there been as many claſſes at Wandſworth as there are *forms* at Weſtminſter, it would not be eaſy to ſay to what profundity of gentlemanly repoſe the anticlimax might have puſhed. As in the one place the ſeventh form is filled with the few whoſe perſevering ſpirit enables them to tug at Hebrew roots, ſo to the other none ſhould be admitted whoſe oblivion of labour had not learnt to ſhew itſelf at their finger's ends, as in China, by a ſeven inch length of nail.

The ſtock of relaxants is not yet exhauſted. When hours after hours of the working time have been

been ſtruck off, for fear the priſoners ſhould not yet be idle enough, ſome of the beſt of them are to be picked out, their work is to be taken altogether out of their hands, and they are to be ſuffered to go idling about the houſe. By a ſeparate ſection inſerted for the purpoſe, § 39, the Governor is empowered "to employ at his diſcretion any"... "who ſhall be ranked in the third claſs, as ſervants, overſeers, or aſſiſtants, in the management of the works, and care of their fellow-priſoners, inſtead of being confined to ſuch their "daily labour as aforeſaid."

I ſay *idling*: for houſe ſervice, in compariſon of working trade, is idleneſs: ſuperintendance of courſe, ſtill greater idleneſs. A preceding clauſe (§ 32) took them from whatever good trades they had been bred to, to put them to a bad trade, contrived for puniſhment and nothing elſe. A part of them are now to be taken even from that bad trade. By the time their term is out and they are to be turned looſe again upon the wide world, they are to have unlearned every thing that can afford them the leaſt proſpect of a maintenance. For in ſuch a caſe what poſſible proviſion can houſe-ſervice lead to? Who will take houſe-ſervants from ſuch a houſe? Houſe-ſervice requires confidence: character inſiſted on. Of handicraft trades moſt require little, ſome ſcarce any.

The clauſe calls itſelf an enabling clauſe. What then? Were it any thing, it would be a reſtraining

one. Servants? What ſervants worth ſpeaking of can really be wanted in ſuch a houſe? Are the priſoners to be too proud, or has the Act made them too buſy, to ſweep out their own rooms? Could not the taſk of keeping clean the common rooms (ſince upon this plan there were to be common rooms) be performed by rotation? Does it reqiure picked men to do it? I ſay it is in effect a reſtraining clauſe. Suppoſing no ſuch regulation, ſuch ſort of ſervice, what little of it there is neceſſary, would have been performed on one or other of two plans: either upon the rotation plan, every one doing a ſmall ſhare: or, were any ſelection made for a ſort of ſervice requiring no ſort of ſkill, it would be of ſuch as were awkwardeſt at their trades. I ſpeak of a manager of common plain ſenſe, who were not handcuffed, and whoſe profit were ſtaked upon the ſucceſs. Here he is diſſuaded from the rotation plan, an eſtabliſhment of ſervants is recommended to him, and in chooſing them he is forbidden to take them from any of the three claſſes but that which includes ſuch as are experteſt at their trades, as far as expertneſs is to be inferred from practice.

I call it then a reſtraining clauſe, and ſo it is with regard to good management and induſtry: for with regard to abuſes and idleneſs, its enabling tendency is not to be denied.—The objects we are moſt converſant with will naturally be uppermoſt in

in our thoughts. In the creation of this new microcoſm no wonder if the old and great world ſhould ſometimes have been in view. Of this chief ſeat of relaxation in the moſt relaxed of all the relaxed claſſes, the idea ſeems as if it had been taken from Lord Cheſterfield's Hoſpital of Incurables: nitches are accordingly left in it here and there, capable of being fitted up into little ſnug places and ſinecures.

Of all this elaboration and complication what then is the effect?—Miſchief:—miſchief in all its ſhapes: liſtleſſneſs, idleneſs, incapacity of earning ſubſiſtence. Miſchief and nothing elſe.—What was the end in view? Not miſchief moſt aſſuredly. —What then?—In good truth I do not know. Puniſhment is one uſe it is applied to, and that the only uſe. By § 47th, powers of puniſhment are provided, and that of "removing ſuch offenders, "if ranked in the ſecond or third claſs, into any "prior claſs," is of the number. What then? This delicate piece of mechaniſm, with all its ſoftneſs and ſmoothneſs and relaxation, is it after all but an engine of puniſhment? An excellent one it would be, were it as good as it is expenſive. Perillus's bull, had it been of gold inſtead of braſs, would ſcarce have equalled it*.

This

* *Calculation*

Of the expence of this engine of puniſhment, for 900 priſoners, being the number provided for by the Act.

Suppoſe

This reaſon, ſuch as it is, makes bad ſtill worſe: complication and obſcurity, and that complication a cover

Suppoſe	£.	s.	d.
Groſs average value of each priſoner's work for a day	0	0	3
This makes for a week — — —	0	1	6
For a year — — —	3	18	0

Proportion to be ſtruck off from the labour of each priſoner upon his removal from the firſt claſs to the ſecond, one hour out of nine, the average number of hours, I ſet at one ninth: and a Manager would hardly think of ſtriking off leſs than this, if he ſtruck off any thing.

Additional deduction on the removal from the ſecond to the third—one-ninth *more*.

Reſult.	£.
Groſs annual value of the labour of 900 priſoners without the deduction in queſtion —	3510
Ditto of one-third of the number, viz. 300 being the number in the ſecond claſs —	1501
Deduct one ninth from the total value of the labour of this ſecond claſs — — —	130
Ditto two ninths from that of the third claſs	260
Total deduction	390
Preſent value of ſuch annual deduction conſidered as a perpetual rent-charge at 30 years purchaſe.	11,700

I think I ſhall not be accuſed of having rated the value of the labour extravagantly high at 3d. a day, conſidering that it is but the groſs value, and that it takes the economy at the higheſt pitch to which it can be puſhed, not only by this Act, but by the accumulating powers of a ſeries of Acts explanatory and emendatory upon the ſame principles to the end of time. I ſay then, that for £11,700, not a Perillus only, but even an ordinary goldſmith of the preſent degenerate age could make a very decent bull, big enough to broil a middle ſized man in, of the very beſt gold. I mean provided he were allowed to take his own way for making it: for I would not anſwer for him were he to be obliged to learn his art, like the manager of this manufacturing concern, from inſtructions beat into him by Act of Parliament, nor if the thickneſs of the gold were to be regulated upon the ſame principles as the dimenſions of the houſes in the Penitentiary-Town are by this Act.

Whether

a cover for tyranny and injuſtice. The meaning, if I do not miſunderſtand it, was, that for a priſon-offence, the Committee ſhould have the power of adding to any priſoner's term of confinement an additional

Whether the deduction was meant to be made in the article of *time* or in the article of *exertion*, it comes to the ſame thing. It muſt have been in one or other: for it is not "*confinement*" only that is to be firſt "more moderate," then "ſtill more relaxed," but "*labour*." Time was the element beſt adapted to calculation as being the only one of the two that was ſuſceptible of a determinate ſhape. If the Act meant not *time* but degree of *exertion*, it did ſtill worſe: for that would be giving the power its moſt arbitrary form. The intention could hardly be that the relaxation ſhould be adminiſtered by change of trade:—the economy would be ſtill worſe.——Is the new trade a leſs productive one than the old one?—Here is loſs then incurred to no purpoſe. Is it more productive?—Still the ſame loſs; only precedent inſtead of ſubſequent:——a bad trade carried on for a whole year for the ſake of changing it for a better at the year's end.——Is it neither more nor leſs productive?——Still there is loſs. For by the ſuppoſition, in the ſecond trade there is to be the ſame produce with leſs labour. With equal labour it would therefore have been more productive than the firſt. It ought therefore to have been taken up from the beginning inſtead of the firſt. Add to this in every caſe the loſs that muſt reſult from the time conſumed in learning a new trade.

Another miſchief. Not only the *labour* is thus to be more and more relaxed, but the *confinement* likewiſe. What is the conſequence?——Corruption: corruption ſtill greater than before, if already it was not brought to its higheſt pitch. For how is it where the confinement is ſtricteſt? even there, aſſociation promiſcuous or nearly promiſcuous takes place at different times of the day, at working-times, at meal-times, and at airing times. How then can the confinement be relaxed, unleſs it be by encreaſing the already too great liberty of aſſociation? They are not any of them ſurely to be let out of the houſe? They are therefore to be ſuffered to go about idling and confabulating and confederating within the houſe. And at what period is this encreaſed relaxation and encreaſed faculty of aſſociation to take place?—At the very period the neareſt to that of their diſcharge, when all the bad leſſons they have collected from one another, whatever they are, may be transferred from theory to practice.

additional one, ever ſo ſhort or ever ſo long, ſo as it did not exceed the original one. In that caſe, the ſimple courſe would have been to have ſaid ſo. Inſtead of that, the meaning is expreſſed in a round about way by reference to theſe claſſes. What is the conſequence? That when ſix years, for inſtance, was the term for the original offence, for the priſon-offence you can have nothing leſs than two years: nor if you would have more than two years any thing leſs than four years: two years or four years then, with an additional time, ſuch as the Committee may think proper to add to it, is the only alternative. Two years the leaſt quantity in ſuch a caſe; or elſe this precious engine, which it coſt ſo many thouſand pounds to make, is not to be uſed: if you won't uſe it harſhly, you ſhan't uſe it at all: ſo ſays the letter at leaſt of this law*.

The

* This is one mode of conſtruction: is it the right one? I will not be poſitive: it would take an argument of an hour long to attempt to get to the bottom of this darkneſs. Here is the clauſe, in its own words, that I may be ſure of not doing it an injuſtice. "And in caſe of removal into any prior claſs, the offender ſhall, "from the time of making ſuch order of removal, go through "ſuch prior claſs, and alſo the ſubſequent claſs or claſſes in the "ſame *manner* as under his or her original commitment, *and* for "ſuch *additional* time as ſuch Committee ſhall think proper to or-"der, ſo as the whole time of confinement, to be computed from "ſuch order of removal into ſuch prior claſs to the final diſcharge "of the offender, ſhall not exceed the original term for which he "or ſhe was committed.

Does

The neceſſity, howſoever it might ſit upon the priſoners, would not ſit very heavy upon the Governor:

Does the word *manner* include the conſideration of *time?*——It ſhould ſeem yes. It ſurely might, if nothing elſe were ſaid about time. *Additional* with relation to what? additional with relation to the longer time they would have to ſtay in conſequence of their being *turned down* into a lower *claſs*, ſuppoſing nothing expreſsly ſaid of time? or merely additional with relation to the *original* time ſpecified in the *ſentence?*—In the latter caſe, the ſenſe would have been more clearly expreſſed by leaving out the word *additional* or the word *and*, or both of them:——*in the ſame manner.....and for ſuch time as the Committee ſhall.....order*——*in the ſame manner.....for ſuch additional time.....*——*in the ſame manner.....for ſuch time.....*——In any of theſe three ways, the expreſſion would have been clear on the ſide of lenity, proportionality, and reaſon. If neither the word *and*, nor the word *additional* were deſigned to enſure the contrary conſtruction, no effect at all is given them, and they ſerve only to perplex. Thus then ſtands the queſtion. The letter of the law pretty decidedly on one ſide: reaſon, as I conceive it, on the other:—but what ſort of a guide would reaſon be to truſt to throughout this law?

Thus much is certain:——that a cruel, or what is more to be feared an intereſted, Committee-man, leagued and connected with the Governor, might, without the ſmalleſt riſk or even imputation, take the rigorous ſide: and what is remarkable, the abuſe would not in any poſſible way be ſuſceptible of a remedy. Convened before the Court of King's Bench, what poſſible fault could be found with a Committee-man who had been in the conſtant habit of ſentencing no priſoner for leſs than two years?—*How come you for ſo ſlight an offence to inflict impriſonment for ſo long a term?*——*Becauſe I found myſelf obliged: the law is peremptory: it does not admit of a ſhorter.*——*No; you miſtake; you were not bound.*—*Well if I was not bound, I am ſorry for it, but I have done no wrong: for I thought I was, and you cannot deny that I was empowered.*—Had the diſcretion given not extended to ſo long a period, the ſtretch, if the conſtruction authorizing it were not approved of, would have been chargeable with illegality, and there would have been ſomething to have appealed from. Here, as there is no pretence for a charge of illegality, there is no ground upon which an appeal can build itſelf.

To

vernor: I mean if he has in effect that intereſt in the productiveneſs of the eſtabliſhment which the Act wiſhes him to have. It will be no ſecret to him that the ſame quantity of labour at the expiration of an apprenticeſhip is worth rather more than at the commencement of it. Nor will the neceſſity ſit much heavier on the Committee, if they either ſet a value upon the friendſhip of the Governor, or ſet the ſame value upon this engine of puniſhment as appears to have been ſet upon it by the maker: the Committee of three, I mean, who when not ſo many as three are not more than one, and who, ſitting in the dark, with an intereſted proſecutor, their creature and their dependent, at their elbow, emulate the functions of Judge and Jury. This I know, that were I a candidate for the management contract, I would make no inconſiderable allowance for ſuch a clauſe, eſpecially ſo worded. I mean if I could bring my conſcience to ſuch a degree of relaxation, that the idea of taking a ſentence of impriſonment for a few years, and altering it under the roſe into a puniſhment for life, ſat as eaſy upon me, as that of a ſimilar transformation appears to have ſitten, I hope through inadvertence, upon the planners of the Colonization ſcheme.

The

To form a juſt conception of this clauſe, and of the ſpirit which pervades this Act, add to the miſchiefs of a plan bad in principle, the miſchiefs of perplexity and ambiguity reſulting from complication.—O ſimplicity! heaven-born ſimplicity! when wilt thou viſit the paths of law?

The miſchief roll is not yet read through. The proportion of puniſhment, ſuch as it is, what does it depend upon?—Upon the degree of delinquency which called for it?—No: not in any ſhape. The puniſhment is proportioned, not to the magnitude of the offence, but to the length of a man's term: not to the offence for which he is puniſhed, but to another offence which has nothing to do with it, and which has already had its puniſhment.

That *puniſhment* is the only uſe this claſſification is put to in the Act itſelf is certain. But was it really deſigned for an engine of puniſhment and nothing elſe?—If ſo, the awkwardneſs of it is not leſs remarkable than the expenſiveneſs. Three equal periods of a man's term, three years ſay, is the time it is ſuppoſed to be wanted for. For one of thoſe periods it can't be uſed: ſince for ſuch time as a man is in this "*firſt*" claſs as it is called, meaning the loweſt, there is no lower claſs into which he can be turned down. What is the period during which it can't be uſed?—The very period of all others during which, if in any, it would be wanted. When is it that puniſhment in every ſhape is in moſt demand: When is it that unrulineſs is moſt to be apprehended, and requires the greateſt force to combat it? One would think it were, when coercion was moſt new.—A bit for breaking in horſes which has this peculiar property

belonging to it, that it can't be uſed till the horſe has gone a twelvemonth upon the road! An engine that coſt 11,700l, and that can never be uſed till experience has ſhewn that there is no need of it!

Was the ſinecure eſtabliſhment that we have ſeen grafted on this claſſification plan, meant as a fund of *reward?* It is ſtill worſe contrived for reward than the engine of puniſhment made out of the claſſes is for puniſhment: that cannnot be uſed till one-third of the term is over: this, not till two-thirds are at an end.

One glance more, and I have done. Two diviſions or claſſifications, the reader may have obſerved, running on together: two claſſifications made upon ſo many different principles: the firſt grounded on capacity for hard labour, as indicated by age, ſex, health and ability; the other on length of ſtanding; that is, not on *abſolute* length of ſtanding, but *relative*, relation had to the proportion elapſed of each man's term. If this account be obſcure, I am ſorry for it, but I cannot help it: were it altogether otherwiſe, it would not be faithful one. Theſe diviſions croſs and joſtle one another in effect: but in idea each may be conſidered by itſelf: let us obſerve for a moment the conſequence of the firſt of them. Two claſſes of perſons are carefully diſtinguiſhed and placed in

ſituations

ſituations as oppoſite as poſſible: — from that moment their treatment, as to every thing that remains of it, is uniformly the ſame. Two ſets of people and but two: to heave at a capſtern, or what is looked upon as equivalent, the employment of the one: to knit nets or ſome ſuch thing, the occupation of the other. No medium: ſtraining to exceſs, or ſitting almoſt without motion. The labour of the former might be too ſevere; that of the latter not ſufficiently ſo: preſervatives require to be employed againſt both exceſſes: clauſes to reſtrain undue ſeverity in the one caſe, clauſes to reſtrain undue lenity in the other. What does our legiſlator? He twiſts both kinds of clauſes together, and applies them indiſcriminately to both claſſes of workmen and both claſſes of work. What is the conſequence? Every ſuch clauſe is a two-edged ſword: with one edge it deſtroys one part of the company, with the other edge, the remainder. With the one he thus cuts up one half of his own purpoſes; with the other, the other half.—Becauſe 14 or 15 hours would be too long for one ſet to heave at a capſtern, the others who are to do nothing but ſit and knit, are not to have any more than 10, than 9, than 8 hours to do that in or any thing elſe: becauſe three or four hours would be nothing to employ in knitting, thoſe who are to heave at a capſtern are to heave on for not leſs than 8, 9, or 10 hours; and longeſt when

when the heat of the weather has rendered the fatigue moſt intolerable. Becauſe thoſe who are to ſit knitting would ſoon be dead were they to do nothing but ſit or lie a-bed without exerciſe, the capſtern-heavers who have been heaving and ſtraddling till they cannot ſet one foot before the other, are alſo to have their walk. Becauſe the capſtern-heavers will be dead with fatigue before their day is half ſpent, the knitters are to have 14 hours out of the 24, and never leſs than 12, to ſoak in bed; and this is called keeping them to hard-labour. Becauſe the capſtern heavers will be worked to death before their term is one third over, the knitters, by the time they have gone through a third of theirs, are to have a part of their knitting hours ſtruck off, and by the time they have gone through two-thirds, the abatement is to be doubled.—

Exaggeration! exaggeration! Can you ſeriouſly then pretend to believe, that miſchiefs like theſe would really enſue?——I hope not:—I truſt not:—at leaſt not in any ſuch degree: in ſome way or other the worſt of them would be got rid of. Theſe like others would ſome how or other find ſomething like a remedy——True.—But who ſhould we have to thank for it?—Thoſe who contrived the Act?—No: but thoſe who would have to execute it: that is to ſtruggle under it, and ſave themſelves from

from executing it. Of two things one: executed, it is ruinous; not executed, it is uſeleſs: ſuch is the dilemma that purſues it through every part of its career. The proviſions either will or will not have the effect of peremptory ones. In the one caſe they are productive of the miſchief which we ſee: in the other, they are of no effect againſt the miſchiefs which they themſelves have in view.

Recapitulation —— Errors collected under the ſingle head of *Employment* — fruits of legiſlative interference in matters of domeſtic and mercantile economy.

1. Setting out with a wrong *object*—*hard labour* inſtead of *profit*.

2. Undertaking to give any *regulations* or *inſtructions* at all with regard to *choice* among the ſpecies of employment.

3. Grounding the choice upon a *wrong principle*: employing human exertion to generate pure force.

4. Making peculiarly *diſadvantageous applications* of that diſadvantageous principle—capſtern-work put upon a line with wheel-work.

5. Preſcribing other *employments particularly diſadvantageous* upon the face of them: ſuch as beating hemp, raſping logwood, chopping rags—operations

rations already performed to more advantage by machines moved by the elementary *primum mobiles*.

6. Putting a negative upon *mixture of employments*, though alike recommended by health, economy and comfort.

7. Putting a negative upon a free *change* of employments, as economy may occaſionally require.

8. Limiting the quantity of labour either one way or other in point of *time*: *working-hours* not fewer than 8, 9, or 10 in a day, nor more.

9. Making the limitation different in different *ſeaſons*: 10 hours for ſeven months, 9 for two other months, and 8 only for the remaining three: thence loſing ſo much in the two latter ſeaſons.

10. Making the limitation ſuch, that the exerciſe ſhall be *hardeſt* in the ſeaſon when men are *leaſt able to bear it*.

11. Making further deduction from the ſum of labour on the ground of *length* of *ſtanding*: ſtriking off ſo much when one third of the term is over, and ſo much more, when two thirds with or without limiting the amount of the deduction, or ſpecifying the mode.

12. Making the deductions *per ſaltum*: two degrees only of relaxation, two claſſes only of priſoners

ſoners: to the diſregard of the numerous differences indicated by the circumſtances of individuals.

13. Facilitating undue preferences:——by the power given of changing the work from real to nominal.

14. Authoriſing exceſſive additions to the duration of puniſhment, by a judicature, ſecret and arbitrary, and liable to be intereſted.

15. Eſtabliſhing an *expenſive fund* of reward and puniſhment: and that ſo conſtituted, that it can never be uſed till the inutility of it has been demonſtrated by experience: degradations and indulgencies that cannot take place till one third or two thirds of a man's time is over.

16. Preſcribing, under the common notion of hard labour, two claſſes of employments as *oppoſite* in point of ſeverity of exerciſe as poſſible, without any medium.

17. Preſcribing for ſuch oppoſite meaſures of exertion, the ſame meaſure of *relaxation;* and that in every particular——hours, ſeaſons, and length of ſtanding.

§ 6. *DIET.*

§ 6. *DIET.*

ON the important head of diet, the principles already eſtabliſhed leave little here to add:

1. Quantity, unlimited:* that is, as much as each man chooſes to eat.

2. Price, the cheapeſt.†

3. Savour, the leaſt palateable of any in common uſe.‡

4. Mixture, none.

5. Change, none unleſs for cheapneſs.

6. Drink, water.

7. Liberty to any man to purchaſe more palateable diet out of his ſhare of earnings.‖

8. Fermented

* Rule of lenity, ſee § 1.
† Rule of economy.
‡ Rule of ſeverity.
‖ Rule of economy. Few caſes, I believe there are, if any, in which it will not be found advantageous even in point of economy to allow a man in the way of reward, a proportion of his earnings. But *reward* muſt aſſume the ſhape of a preſent gratification, and that too of the ſenſual claſs, or in the eyes of perhaps the major part of ſuch a company, it can ſcarcely be expected to have any value: and if it takes a ſenſual ſhape, it cannot take a more unexceptionable one.

8. Fermented liquors excepted, which, even ſmall beer, ought never to be allowed on any terms.*

Thus ſpeak our three rules. Look round among the ſyſtems in practice, we ſhall find them all three tranſgreſſed, and what is more, the oppoſite exceſſes united in one and the ſame tranſgreſſion. Many different dietaries have been adopted, preſcribed, or recommended. Theſe oppoſite defects may be obſerved more or leſs in all of them. In all of them the food is limited in quantity: in all of them it is more or leſs too good in quality. At Wymondham, three different ſorts of things in turn, but of the only one of which the quantity is ſpecified, viz. bread, a deplorable ſcanty meaſure.

Rule of ſeverity. How many thouſands of the honeſt and induſtrious poor are incapable, unleſs at the expence of food and nouriſhment, of giving themſelves this unneceſſary indulgence.

* The miſchief done to health by the uſe or abuſe of fermented liquors is beyond compariſon greater than that effected by all other cauſes put together. The uſe is in fact none at all, where habit is out of the queſtion. It would be next to impoſſible to tolerate a moderate enjoyment without admitting exceſs. The ſame beverage that produces no ſenſible effect on one man will overcome another. Even ſmall beer ought not to be excluded from the general proſcription: for there can be no commonly practicable teſt for diſtinguiſhing ſmall from ſtrong: and I have known conſtitutions to which even ordinary ſmall beer has afforded the means of intoxication.

Thus far however right, as, except one meal in the week, animal food forms no part of it.*

Twopenny worth of bread only for a whole day! and this under the hardeſt as well as the eaſieſt work! Twopenny worth of bread! Many a man will eat as much with his meat at a ſingle meal. The allowance ſettled too not by quantity but by value! If thus ſcanty when at the largeſt rate, what muſt it be when one third of it is ſtruck off? Under a regimen like this a priſon muſt be a ſcene of perpetual famine. I read it in the dietary. Howard read it in men's countenances. "Several young "men," ſays he, (his viſit was in 1788†) "ſeem-"ed as if they could not go out ſo fit for labour "as they come in."— *Nobody*, it is ſaid, *dies there*. I believe it: they do not ſtay there long enough: but there are ſlow poiſons as well as quick ones. *Nobody*, it is added, *is ſick there*. I deny it. Every body is ſick there, and always. Is not a perpetual gnawing in the ſtomach a diſeaſe? Work little or much, behave well or ill, this is to be their fate. Were I to put a man to ſuch regimen, which as a neceſſary means to a fit end I ſhould not ſcruple,

I ſhould

* WYMONDHAM DIETARY.

Two Meals.

Breakfaſt	*Dinner.*
A penny loaf every day.	Ditto two days, potatoes two days, boiled peaſe two days, ox-cheek ſoup, one day.

† September 12.—On *Lazarettos*, p. 152.

I ſhould ſpeak honeſtly and call it *torture*. I ſhould uſe it inſtead of a thumb-ſcrew: it is applying the rack to the inſide of the ſtomach inſtead of the outſide of a limb. *Men that have once been there do not come there a ſecond time.* I dare ſay they don't, nor would they were their allowance thrice as great as it is. It is ſaid *the profits of the work are more than double the expence of this maintenance.* I dare ſay they are:—why? becauſe the maintenance is leſs than half what is ſufficient*.

The good Howard, who with me proteſts againſt this dietary, has given us one of his own: and in this, as in ſo many other inſtances, has ſhewn how little ſelf was in his thoughts. Good things, a variety

* God forbid what is here ſaid ſhould be the means of throwing any thing like odium on the labours of the reſpectable magiſtrate to whom the public is indebted for this regimen and the account we have of it. Of the purity of his intentions malice itſelf could not ſuggeſt a doubt: of his having conſcience on his ſide, he has given the moſt unqueſtionable proof that man can give: for it is he himſelf who publiſhes his plan, and calls upon the world to judge of it. Seeing that economy was the point at which the Penitentiary ſyſtem ſtuck, it was his zeal for the ſyſtem that carried him theſe lengths to ſerve it. Is this ſerving it as it ought to be ſerved? that is the queſtion. It is an honeſt difference between us, and I hope not an irreconcileable one. But while my opinions on this head remain as they are, I cannot help regretting, for the ſake of the priſoners, that ſome contracting Jew had not the management of the priſon. The moſt rapacious of the tribe would not have dared to go ſuch lengths on the ſide of parſimony as this gentleman has gone from the pureſt motives; if he had, inſtead of proclaiming it and calling for imitation, he would have been as anxious to conceal it as if he had ſtolen what he ſaved.

variety of them, and butcher's meat amongſt the reſt*. Butcher's meat twice, or rather four times a week, to felons whoſe diet is to be their puniſhment! Butcher's meat for the loweſt vulgar, as if for fear a cheaper diet ſhould not agree with them! He himſelf all this while never ſuffering a morſel to enter within his lips. Yet what man ever enjoyed a more uninterrupted flow of health and ſpirits?

This inconſiſtency, in a word, runs through all the dietaries I have ever met with. Nobody who has ever had the courage, to be either cruel enough to feed felons as ſo many honeſt men would be glad to be fed, or extravagant enough to give them as much of the pooreſt food as they require. The ſimpleſt courſe one would think was doomed to be always the laſt thought of.

I look

* HOWARD's Dietary. On *Lazarettos*, p. 238.

Good wheaten bread 1½ lb. daily, viz. ½lb. at breakfaſt, and 1lb. at dinner.

BREAKFAST.

Every day ¼ of a pint of wheaten or barley meal, oat-meal or rice made into ſoup.

DINNER.

Sunday and *Thurſday*, 1lb. of beef, mutton or pork without bone.

Monday and *Friday*, a pint of peaſe boiled in the broth of the preceding day.

Tueſday, ½ a pint of wheat or wheat flour made into pudding or ſoup.

Wedneſday, 2lb. of potatoes, turnips, carrots, or other vegetables that are in ſeaſon.

Saturday, ¼lb. of cheeſe, or the vegetables as on *Wedneſday*.

I look at the *Hulk* dietaries: and in theſe, animal food abounds more than in any other. This is not difficult to account for. The priſons are ſhips: the guards ſeamen: it muſt be ſeaman's provender. What was the cuſtom at ſea would of courſe be kept in view, not what was the cuſtom elſewhere where men are kept cheaper, much leſs what are the demands of nature. Neighbour's fare could not well be denied: eſpecially when ſuch a price was paid for it. Howard too had been there and grumbled: and there were thoſe who had the fear of Howard before their eyes. The powers above were doubtleſs told, that all this good living was well paid for in work: men who work hard muſt be well fed: and when men are well fed, thoſe who feed them muſt be well paid for it. What has not been ſaid I ſuppoſe to the powers above, is however moſt true, that what is paid, for thus working men and feeding them, over and above what need be paid, is more than even the pretended value of their work.

Turn now to the Penitentiary-Act. Another viſit to the kitchen, and as much got by it, as before. By § 35, every offender is to be "ſuſtained "with bread and any courſe meat or other infe-"rior food, and water or ſmall beer."

For humanity, for health, for comfort, what does this do?—Nothing.—In what reſpect can the priſoners

priſoners be the better for this article? In none.—What ſays it?—That the food ſhall be ſufficient?—No.—That it ſhall be wholeſome?—No: not ſo much even as that.—What then?—that bread ſhall form a part of it. They are to have—what? bread and ſomething beſides. What is that ſomething to be? Is it to be meat at all events?—No: but either meat, ſo as it be coarſe, or any thing elſe whatever, ſo as it be of an inferior kind. Inferior to what? that the ſtatute has not told us, and it would have been rather difficult for it to have told us.

For economy what does it? Nothing.——Does it ſet up any ſort of barrier againſt unthriftineſs or waſte? May not meat, though coarſe, be unthrifty food, if furniſhed in an unneceſſary quantity or laid in upon unthrifty terms?——Might not their caterer cram them with Polignac rolls for any thing there is in the Act to hinder him?

It does worſe than nothing. One thing it does determine—bread they muſt have:—bread, for ever, and at all events—Why always and at all events bread? Is it that bread is always the cheapeſt of all food? By no means. Whether it be ſo at any time it is not neceſſary to enquire: it is ſufficient that it is not always. Bread is a manufacture. Does not the earth afford ſubſtances that will ſerve for food, that are actually made to ſerve for food with leſs expence of manufacture! Is bread any where

where a neceſſary article? Is it ſo much as univerſal amongſt ourſelves? Are there not hundreds of thouſands, nay millions of honeſt men in the three kingdoms, to whom the very taſte of it is unknown? Is not Ireland fed with potatoes? Is not Scotland fed with oatmeal? Is that inferior grain ſo much as manufactured into bread? Are Iriſhmen a puny race? Is the arm of the Highlander found weak in war?—What a leſſon to hold out to ſo large a portion of the people!—that the food they are content with, the beſt their country can afford them, is not good enough for felons!*

For what purpoſe then can this regulation ſerve? For what could it have been meant to ſerve?—For guidance?—For inſtruction?—Did it need the united power and wiſdom of King, Lords and Commons, to inform us, that there are things which may be eaten with bread, and that meat is one of them? Almoſt equally uſeleſs is that part which preſcribes the drink, though not equally pernicious.

They

* Not only bread is to be given at all events in ordinary, but even where an inferior diet is preſcribed to be given for puniſhment's ſake, ſtill it is to conſiſt of bread. Guilt upon guilt, and the moſt guilty among the guilty are never to be ſunk ſo low in this ſchool of rigid diſcipline, as to be no higher than upon a par with liberty and innocence.

Even lenity itſelf, were that the only conſideration, would afford an objection againſt the fixing upon bread as a neceſſary article. Bread being a ſort of food which is commonly eaten with meat, and with which meat is commonly eaten, the giving it without its uſual accompaniment would naturally make the privation the more ſenſible.

They are to have—what? Either water or ſmall beer. If the being confined to water is an undue hardſhip, what does this clauſe to ſave them from it? If it is not an undue hardſhip, why expoſe the public to be put to the expence ſo much as of ſmall beer? In what reſpect is the regulation of the ſmalleſt uſe to them? Though they were to have beer given to them, is there any thing in the Act to prevent its being ſour or muſty?

For what uſe then this regulation about diet? when profuſion is left without bounds, and when the priſoners may be ſtarved or poiſoned for any thing that it does to ſave them. Aſk of what diſſervice? The anſwer is plain, and not to be contradicted. It prevents them from being fed ſo cheaply as otherwiſe, without any prejudice to health, they might be. In this important article good economy and this Act cannot exiſt together.

Aſk my contractor, and after a year or two's trial he will tell you diſtinctly how many thouſands the nation would have had to pay for this excurſion into the kitchen. The world, you will find, might be ſailed round and round for a ſmall part of the expence.

Vain would it be to ſay, *ſo long as you give them bread, though it be but a morſel, you may compoſe the bulk of their food of whatever is cheaper, without violating*

violating the letter of the law. Certainly: but could you without violating the ſpirit? without departing from what it was evident the authors had in view? Is not the article of bread put foremoſt? Is it not evident, that according to the notion and intention of thoſe who drew this clauſe, bread was to compoſe the principal part of men's food?—But ſuppoſe the clauſe not obligatory—what would it then be?—Nugatory.—Here, as before—miſchief, or nothing—ſuch is the alternative.

Turn them over to a contractor, and obſerve how different the reſult. No need to rack invention to prevent his ſpending too much upon their food. Leave it to him, and one thing you may be ſure of: that in this way as in all others, as little will be ſpent upon them as poſſible.

The only thing to fear in this caſe is, leſt he ſhould not beſtow as much upon them as he ought. But againſt this you have your remedy. Do what the Penitentiary Act has not done, require that the food ſhall be wholeſome and that there ſhall be enough of it. This is ſomething. It is ſuch ground as not only popular cenſure, but a legal indictment may be built upon. Is it not yet enough? Say that, puniſhment apart, he ſhall feed them to the extent of their deſires. Will he ſtill fail you? —Hardly.—Even upon the plan of the preſent Penitentiary Act ſome eyes, upon the Panopticon

plan, all eyes, are on him. The latitude thus given him with regard to the choice of the food, which of courſe will be of the cheapeſt ſort, is even of ſervice to his integrity and to the comfort of the priſoners in this reſpect, by the jealouſy it excites. Whatever he does in this way is his own doing: the reſult of a motive, of which the force is known to every one, and regarded with a ſuſpicion which is as univerſal as it is reaſonable. It is his own doing, and ſeen by every body to be ſo. No pretence of public good, no letter of any law, to afford ſhelter to inhumanity or avarice.

§ 7. *CLOATHING.*

§ 7. CLOATHING.

A Few words under the head of cloathing, and but few.

Health, comfort, and decency preſcribe the limits on one ſide: economy on the other. Faſhion, the ſupreme arbiter every where elſe, the cottage not excepted, has no juriſdiction here.

The Penitentiary Act points out two other objects as proper to be kept in view, humiliation and ſafe cuſtody. So much for generals: happily under this head it keeps clear of ſpecifications.

Two hints I will venture to offer to my Contractor in this view.

For men, coat and ſhirt-ſleeves of unequal length: the left, as uſual: the right no longer than that of a woman's gown.

Economy is ſerved by this contrivance in a ſmall degree: ſafe cuſtody in a greater. The difference of appearance in the ſkin of the two arms will be an eſſential mark. In point of duration, nothing can be more happily ſuited to the purpoſe: it is a permanent diſtinction without being a perpetual ſtigma.

Excluſive

Excluſive of this pledge, I look upon eſcape out of a Panopticon, I have ſaid ſo over and over, as an event morally impoſſible. But ſuppoſe it otherwiſe — how great the additional ſecurity which an expedient thus ſimple would afford!

A man eſcapes—minute perſonal deſcription, *ſignalement*, as the French call it, is almoſt needleſs. One ſimple trait fixes him beyond poſſibility of miſtake. His two arms wear a different appearance: one, like other men's: the other red and rough, like that of a female of the working-claſs. No innocent man can be arreſted by miſtake. He bares his two arms:—*Obſerve they are alike. I am not the man: you ſee it is impoſſible.*

The common expedient is, one ſleeve of a different colour. This coſts ſomething: it ſaves nothing: and when the coat is off the ſecurity is gone.

Hardſhip there can be none: the tenderer ſex, even in its tendereſt and moſt elevated claſſes has both arms bare. Among the Romans, even the moſt luxurious and effeminate, not the fore-arm only but the whole arm was bare, up to the very ſhoulder.

2. In both ſexes, on working days, ſhoes wooden; ſtockings none: on Sundays, ſtockings and ſlippers.

Shoes

Shoes wooden for ſeveral reaſons.

1. They are cheaper than leather.

2. Among the common people in England they are known as a ſort of emblem of ſervitude.

3. By the noiſe they make on the iron bars of which the floors of the Cell-Galleries are compoſed, they give notice whenever a priſoner is on the march. Putting them off in order to prevent this and eſcape obſervation, is an act, which if forbidden will not be practiſed, where non-diſcovery will be ſo perfectly hopeleſs. Beſides that the bars would give pain to bare feet not accuſtomed to tread on them.

4. Were the priſoners to go bare-foot, the bars which form the floor of the galleries muſt be ſo much the cloſer, conſequently the more numerous and expenſive.

5. In climbing with a view to eſcape, it would be impoſſible to make uſe of the feet either with the wooden ſhoes on, or with naked feet kept tender by the uſe of ſhoes. Common leather ſhoes, eſpecially when ſtout and coarſe, are of great aſſiſtance in climbing, and bare feet hardened by treading on iron and on the bare ground might find no great difficulty. Bare feet that were accuſtomed to ſhoes would ſerve as indifferently for running as for

for climbing: and a fugitive would hardly carry about with him ſo palpable a mark of his condition as a pair of wooden ſhoes.

Neither in this privation, faſhion apart, is there any real hardſhip. Not to mention antiquity, or foreign nations, in Ireland ſhoes and ſtockings are rare among the common people in the country *. In Scotland theſe habiliments are not generally worn by ſervant-maids, even in creditable families.

It is on account of faſhion, and the notions of decorum dependant on faſhion, and to avoid giving diſguſt to the Chapel-viſitors, that I propoſe ſtockings and ſlippers for Sundays. Slippers in preference to ſhoes, as helping to keep up the diſtinction, and being leſs expenſive. Slippers, according to our cuſtoms, ſuit very well the condition of thoſe who it is not intended ſhould ever be abſent, from home. But in the Eaſt they are worn at all times in preference to ſhoes.

As to the reſt, ſee the title of *Health and Cleanlineſs*.

* Young's Ireland, p. 121.

§ 8. *BEDDING.*

§ 8. *BEDDING.*

A Word or two, merely to ſet the Manager at liberty on the article of *bedding*. More unlegiſlative minuteneſs, more unthrifty fixation. Each priſoner is to have a bedſtead, that bedſtead is to be iron, the ſheets are to be one or more, they are to be hempen, there is to be a coverlit, there are to be blankets, there are to be two or more of them, and they are to be coarſe. Why a bedſtead at all events, and that of iron, by Act of Parliament! Not that there is any harm in giving priſoners iron bedſteads: it is what I might for aught I know give them myſelf, if it depended upon me. Here again what is the object? Comfort, or economy? The former gains nothing, and the latter ſuffers by it. Spite of the Act, your bedſtead, though of iron, may be ſo dear as to be an unfrugal one, or ſo ſcanty as to be an uncomfortable one. Procruſtes, were he manager, would find nothing in it againſt his bed.—Is it that iron is the cheapeſt material for bedſteads? A contractor then, had it been left to him, would have employed it. But it is not cheaper: a wooden one of the ſame

ſize

ſize may be had for leſs money: and a bedſtead, even a wooden one, will laſt for ages*.

But why force bedſteads upon the manager at all? Is it ſo certain that they will be preferable to hammocks? Is it ſo certain that they will be cheaper? Will they be warmer? Will they require leſs bedding? Will they take up ſo much leſs room? Is there any thing in hammocks inconſiſtent with good health? Had the immortal crews of the Reſolution and Adventure any thing elſe to lie on? Can hammocks, any more than iron bedſteads, harbour bugs?

Why *matting?* Is it that you are afraid of their having feather-beds: My contractor would eaſe you of your fears.—Why matting and not *ſtraw*† Matting is not ſo favourable to cleanlineſs as ſtraw. Matting, being a manufacture, coſts ſomething to make, and cannot be ſhifted every week or fort night on account of the expence: ſtraw might the more eaſily, becauſe having performed this ſervice

* Bugs, it is true, may lodge in wooden bedſteads. This a very good reaſon for preferring them for hoſpitals. But the caſe is different in a thouſand reſpects. Comfort is the g object there: by diſcomfort and want of reſt even a bug may be productive of ſerious conſequences. In hoſpitals the troduction of ſuch vermin is facilitated by the promiſcuous ceſs incident to a frequent change of inhabitants and to a of freedom: diſcipline, in this as in other points, cannot be forced with equal rigour or facility.

† To incloſe the ſtraw, as Howard ſays, there ſhould be a for ſeveral reaſons.

ſervice, it might be applied to other uſes with little loſs of value.

Sheets, why hempen at all events? If flaxen be cheaper, why have hempen ones? If dearer, what fear is there that the Governor, if he undertook the buſineſs by contract, would allow them?

Blankets too—to what end ſpeak of blankets and coverlits, and enact that the blankets ſhall be "coarſe," leaving the coverlit to be of eider down? Peculation or extravagance might give each man blankets by dozens, and thoſe of beaver or vigogna wool, for any thing there is here to prevent it: avarice might ſtarve him with a worn-out linen coverlit, two thread-bare blankets, and thoſe not worth picking off a dunghill *.

* If you muſt regulate, do what for the Hulks the Act has not done, and ſave men from the incommodious and indelicate neceſſity of lying two in a bed. On board the hulks, this was (and I ſuppoſe is) the caſe, as the evidence the authors of this Act had before them, declares.

The ſingle ſheet the Act allows of is an aukward and uncomfortable contrivance. A ſack, with a flap under the chin, would take leſs ſtuff and be more comfortable.

This, let it be obſerved, is in a note, and not in an Act of Parliament.

§ 9.

HEALTH AND CLEANLINESS.

HINTS relative to this ſubject are not noble in themſelves: but they are ennobled by the end.

1. No blowing of noſes but with a handkerchief.

2. No ſpitting, but in a handkerchief or ſpitting-box.

3. No tobacco in any ſhape.

4. Waſhing of hands and face at riſing and going to bed: waſhing of hands immediately before and after each meal: waſhing of feet at going to bed.

5. Hair of the head to be ſhaved or cropt: if ſhaved, to be kept clean by waſhing: if cropt, by bruſhing.

6. Bathing

6. Bathing to be regularly performed: in ſummer once a week: in ſpring and autumn once a fortnight: in winter once a month.*

7. Shirts clean twice a week.

8. Breeches waſhed once a week: coats and waiſtcoats once a month, in ſummer: once in ſix weeks, in ſpring and autumn: and once in winter. Sheet once a month: blankets once in ſummer.

9. Cloaths all white, and undyed: by this means they can contract no impurity which does not ſhew itſelf.

Obſervations.

Much of the regimen on this head muſt of courſe be arbitrary: it might be tightened by ſome, it may be relaxed by others, and yet nobody to blame.

Nothing like all this nicety with regard to cleanlineſs can be neceſſary to health: in ſome points it is more than is practiſed by perſons of the higheſt ſtations and of the greateſt delicacy. But the great uſe of it is to enſure ſucceſs to the plan of Chapel-viſitation: in which view it is abſolutely neceſſary to prevent every thing that can give diſguſt

* In cold weather, immediately before the ſummons to the wheel would be the beſt time. The warmth loſt in the former operation would thus be reſtored with intereſt by the latter.

guſt to any of the ſenſes. To get a bow ſtraight, bend it, ſays the proverb, the oppoſite way.

This part of the regimen has even a higher object. Between phyſical and moral delicacy: a connection has been obſerved, which though formed by the imagination, is far from being imaginary. Howard and others have remarked it. It is an antidote againſt ſloth: and keeps alive the idea of decent reſtraint, and the habit of circumſpection. Moral purity and phyſical are ſpoken of in the ſame language. Scarce can you inculcate or commend the one, but ſome ſhare of the approbation reflects itſelf upon the other. In minds in which the leaſt grain of chriſtianity has been planted, this aſſociation can ſcarce fail of having taken root: ſcarce a page of ſcripture but recalls it. Waſhing is a holy rite. Thoſe who diſpute its ſpiritual efficacy will not deny its phyſical uſe. The ablution is typical: may it be prophetic!—Alas! were it but as eaſy to waſh away moral as corporeal foulneſs!

Here might regulation range, and economy receive no diſturbance. *Accordingly*.....ſhall I ſay? —no: I will not be ſpiteful:—but however, ſo it is, the Penitentiary Act is ſilent.

On reception in particular, thorough cleanſing in a warm bath: thorough viſitation by the ſur-

geon.

geon. This, in a *Reception-Houſe* without the building. Cloathing new from top to toe—the old thoroughly ſcowered or condemned. Ablution—regeneration—ſolemnity—ceremony——Form of prayer: — the occaſion would be impreſſive.—Grave muſic, if the eſtabliſhment furniſhed it: pſalmody at leaſt, with the organ. To minds like theſe (to look no farther) what preaching comparable to that which addreſſes itſelf to ſenſe?

§ 10. Of

§ 10. OF

AIRING AND EXERCISE.

THE uſe of airing is to ſerve as a preſervative to health.

Literally taken it means nothing but expoſure to the air. But under the notion of airing is tacitly included that of exerciſe. As a means to the above end, either would be incompleat without the other.

In the choice of a plan of airing for a Penitentiary-Houſe, and in particular for a Panopticon Penitentiary-Houſe, the following are the qualities that appear to be particularly deſirable—

1. That it be ſufficient for the purpoſe of health, for the ſake of which it is inſtituted.

2. That it be ſubject to the inviolable law of inſpection.

3. That it be not incompatible with the degree of ſecluſion pitched upon.

4. That

4. That it be capable of being applied regularly and without interruption.

5. That it be favourable to economy: viz. either by being productive of a profit, or at leaſt of being applied with as little expence and conſumption of time as may be, on all days except thoſe in which Religion is underſtood to put a negative upon that wordly conſideration*.

Walking in a wheel is a ſpecies of exerciſe that fulfils to perfection every one of the above conditions.

1. It does every thing that can be wiſhed for with regard to health. You may give a man as much or as little of it as you pleaſe. It is but a particular mode of walking up-hill. A lazy priſoner cannot cheat you. The turns may be numbered—there are known contrivances for that purpoſe. A partial or tyrannical Inſpector cannot aſſign to a priſoner too little of this exerciſe or too much. The effect is produced by the mere weight of

* In the Wymondham Penitentiary Houſe the place allowed, the only one that can be allowed, for airing, is the encloſed quadrangle within the building, an area of about 70 to 80 feet. In this the air is taken—By whom?—By all the priſoners?—No: but by "*ſome*" only.—And by thoſe how?—Regularly?—No: but "*occaſionally*."——Why by ſome only, and by thoſe only occaſionally? Does the neceſſity of air and exerciſe to health and life come at odd times, and vary with the degrees or fancied degrees of guilt?

of the body ſucceſſively applied to different points. Exertion cannot be ſhrunk from by one man, or exacted beyond meaſure from another. The exerciſe is the ſame, or nearly the ſame, for one man as another: for a heavy man as for light one.

2. That it is capable of expoſure to inſpection is evident enough. It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve that the axis of the wheel ſhould be placed in a line not widely deviating from a right line drawn from it to the inſpector's eye, when ſtationed in the *Look-out* or *Exterior Lodge*.

3. It is not incompatible with the ſtricteſt plan of ſecluſion: not even with abſolute ſolitude. Whatever perſons are companions in a cell, the ſame perſons and no others may be companions in a wheel. The different parties may relieve one another in the way that will be pointed out preſently, without any opportunity of converſe.

It is beyond compariſon more compatible with ſecluſion, and even with ſolitude, than ordinary walking. Requiring more exertion, a given quantity of it will go much farther, and is performed without change of place. It is walking up a hill, and that a pretty ſteep one.

4. It need not ſuffer any interruption whatſoever: not even in the worſt of weather. To each airing-

wheel

wheel there is an *awning*, to be uſed only in bad weather, ſupported by a few ſlight iron pillars, and compoſed of canvas, or whatever elſe is cheapeſt. It is provided with ſide-flaps all round: ſuch of them only as are neceſſary to keep out the weather are let down: that ſide alone excepted which is towards the Inſpector, and which, if let down, would impede his view. To extend the protection to this open ſide, the aperture is covered by a ſhort projection like a *porch*.

5. It is not only favourable to economy, but the only operation ever thought of in this view that is ſo. It is all profit: and this profit is obtained without any ſacrifice. It is not in the ſmalleſt degree the leſs healthful for the profit which it brings: walking up hill is not at all a worſe exerciſe, though it will go farther, than walking on plain ground. Health and economy are not upon ſuch bad terms as the authoritative plans of penitentiary management ſeem to ſuppoſe: an operation is not unfitted for the one purpoſe, merely by being made ſubſervient to the other. No other of the modes as yet propoſed of applying forced labour is equally advantageous, or equally unobnoxious to abuſe. Heaving at a capſtern, the exerciſe placed on a line with it by the Penitentiary Act, bears, as we have already ſeen, no compariſon with it.

6. This exercise, it may be observed, is applicable with equal propriety to both sexes. What should hinder the setting a woman to walk up a hill any more than a man? But who could think of setting the weaker and softer sex to strain and struggle at a capstern?

To attempt to determine what are the most advantageous applications of all that could be made of the power thus acquired, would be equally useless and impracticable. It may be applied to any purpose whatsoever that the form of the building or the dimensions of the outlets do not exclude. Every one who is at all conversant with the principles of mechanics knows, that when you have obtained any how a given quantity of power, the direction that may be given it, and the uses it may be applied to, are at your command. If your trade requires it, you may have a perpetual motion if you please. You may do what the Penitentiary Act advised you, *saw stone*, *polish marble*, *beat hemp*, *rasp logwood*, or *chop rags*. You may do a thousand things besides, and amongst the thousand, a thousand to five, some that will be more profitable than those. Having it in this case cheaper than you can employ even the powers of nature, having it in short for nothing, you may apply it with advantage, in every instance where there is advantage to be made by dividing labour in such a manner as to commit the production of the force and the direction of it to different hands.

One

One indiſpenſable demand there is for it, and but one?—the raiſing water for the ſupply of the eſtabliſhment, and health will thus receive a double ſacrifice. But for this purpoſe a ſmall part of the quantity of this ſort of labour requiſite for airing and exerciſe, will be ſufficient. The reſt will remain free to be dedicated to economy in whatever may be its productive ſhape.

What is the proportion of *time* that ought to be allotted to this part of the diſcipline —The quantity it is evident will admit of very conſiderable variation. It will be leſs fatiguing, without being leſs conductive to health, if performed at twice rather than once, and divided between diſtant parts of the day. Leſs than a quarter of an hour each time will hardly anſwer any purpoſe. But that time may be doubled, trebled, quadrupled, if economy ſhould require it. Happily the human frame allows of a conſiderable latitude in this as well as in moſt other parts of the dietetic regimen: nor therefore will it follow, that becauſe half an hour ſpent in this way out of four and twenty would be ſufficient, a whole one, or even two whole ones would be too much.

Under the notion of hard-labour, the Penitentiary Act preſcribes, as we have ſeen, eight hours of this exerciſe out of the four and twenty, at the time

time of the year when it is leaſt fatiguing, and a quarter as much again when it is moſt ſo.

The different parties, I have ſaid, or individuals, may relieve one another without opportunity of converſe. On the ſtriking of the clock, an Inſpector from his gallery opens the cell where the priſoner is whoſe turn it is to go into the wheel. He takes his courſe in the track already deſcribed*. Arrived at the door which leads to the wheel, by opening it he gives motion to a bell, at the ſound of which and not before the priſoner who is walking in the wheel, quits it and returns to his cell. Silence is enjoyned to both parties by a general law. The ſhifting, being the work but of a moment, and then performed under an Inſpector's eye, can never, under theſe circumſtances, afford room for a prohibited converſation of any continuance or effect. By the bell attached to the door that opens from the ſtair-caſe upon the gallery adjoining to his cell, notice is given of the arrival of the returning priſoner to the Inſpector of his ſtory, who immediately repairs to that ſpot in the inſpection Gallery which is oppoſite to the cell in queſtion, and opens it, as before, to let in the returning priſoner,

* Through the priſoners' ſtair-caſe on that ſide, the grated paſſage, the priſoners ſtreights, the priſoners riſing-ſtairs, and the priſoners lane, out of which a ſide-door opens, leading to the wheels. See Part I. § 10, 15, 16, 17, and 20.

ſoner, in the ſame manner that he who has juſt deſcended was let out. The Inſpector, having a leſs circle to move in, will naturally have reached his ſtation before the priſoner has reached the correſponding one: but ſhould this not be the caſe, the priſoner is inſtructed to wait in the front of his own cell, without ſpeaking or looking towards either of the adjacent ones. The ſame inſtruction is given with regard to every cell by which he has occaſion to paſs in his way down and up. And this inſtruction is not likely to be broke through, as beſides the general ſecurity for its obſervance afforded by the inſpection principle, the Inſpector has, by the above-mentioned bell, received warning to obſerve.

Mode of Airing on the Parade.

Two Inſpectors in the firſt place repair from the loweſt Inſpection-Gallery by the line of communication to the Look-out: taking with them fire-arms, with a proportionable ſupply of ammunition. In their way they carefully obſerve that the ſide doors opening into the Parade in the yards from the Covered-way through the Priſoners Lanes are locked. Notice being given to the Inſpectors within that thoſe in the Look-out have taken their ſtation, the priſoners are in the way already deſcribed let out of their cells. Arrived at the parade they take their ſtations on the lines correſponding to their reſpective cells. They halt till it be ſeen that they have properly occupied their reſpective poſts.

Then

Then on a ſignal given from the Look-out the march begins.

To mark the time, and to preſerve regularity the better, the aſſiſtance of martial muſic may be called in. Though the object be not military, there is nothing to hinder the copying in this reſpect the regularity of the military diſcipline. What are the inſtitutions in which regularity may not have its uſe? By military arrangement any number of perſons may be kept together or aſunder at pleaſure, while in motion as well as while at reſt. By military diſcipline a large number may be kept virtually ſeparated, though collected within a narrow ſpace. At the time of exerciſe what converſation can be carried on even between next neighbours, though not a yard aſunder? Even in the milder diſcipline of the ſchool, if the maſter thinks proper to command ſilence, what converſation can be carried on within the circuit of his eye?

It is in this way that hundreds, as we have ſeen, may enjoy the benefit of air and exerciſe without the liberty of converſation, in a ſpace which without an arrangement of this ſort would not be ſufficient to afford to three, no, nor to two, the ſame limited indulgence. In this way the ſpace abſolutely neceſſary for the purpoſe may be determined

to

to a foot ſquare, and reduced to the ſmalleſt allowance poſſible *.

Thus much for airing conſidered as conjoined with exerciſe. But too much care cannot be taken, to profit by every opportunity that preſents itſelf, of giving the priſoners the benefit of the ſalutary influence of the open air. The houſe which they inhabit is beyond example airy:—True: but ſtill it is a houſe.—We ſhall come preſently to the head of *Schooling*. This exerciſe of the mind, though it cannot conveniently be conjoined with bodily exerciſe, may in fit weather be as well performed in the yard as in a confined air. It therefore ought to be: whenever the inclemency of the weather does not abſolutely forbid it.

* The expence of the muſic is ſcarce worth mentioning. On ſuch ſimple inſtruments as a fife and drum a very ſlight degree of inſtruction will be ſufficient to the ſimple purpoſe of affording a meaſure to the time. That among ſuch a multitude two or three perſons ſuſceptible of this degree of inſtruction ſhould not be to be found, if not already poſſeſſed of it, is not to be ſuppoſed.

§ 13. *DIS-*

§ 11.

Schooling and Sunday Employment.

EVERY Penitentiary Houſe, it is obſerved in the Letters, beſides being a Penitentiary-Houſe was liable to be an *Hoſpital*. Every Penitentiary-Houſe, I might have added, every Panopticon Penitentiary-Houſe more particularly, might be, and ought to be a *School:* to children at any rate, ſince ſo it is, that even that tender age is not exempt either from the puniſhment or from the guilt that leads to it: and why not for the illiterate at leaſt among men: Not many ſurely will there be, even among the adult members of this community, whoſe education has been ſo compleat as to have left them nothing to learn that could be of uſe either to their maſter, or to themſelves. To read, to write, and to caſt accounts, ſuch ordinary branches of inſtruction, might be common to them all. Of ſuch of them as poſſeſſed the ſeeds of any peculiar talent, the valuable qualities might be found out and cultivated. Drawing is of itſelf a lucrative branch of induſtry, and might be made aſſiſtant to ſeveral others. Muſic here as elſewhere might be made an aſſiſtant to the productive value of

of the chapel. If to a juſt comprehenſion of his own intereſt the Contractor ſhould add a certain meaſure of ſpirit and intelligence, he will naturaliy be diſpoſed to put them in poſſeſſion, according to their ſeveral capacities, of every ſuch profitable talent they can be made to acquire.——Who can doubt of it?—Their acquirements are his gains. Where is the Academy of which the Maſter has ſo ſtrong or ſo immediate an intereſt in the proficiency of his pupils?

Inſtruction being to be adminiſtered, at what times of the week and of the day? Two words, *Sunday Schools*, reſolve every difficulty. In them we ſee a vacant ſpot, nor that an inconſiderable one, of which inſtruction in its moſt reſpectable branches, intellectual as well as moral and religious, may take poſſeſſion, without any oppoſition on the part of economy. Time was wanting for ſuch employments: employments were wanting for this time. Both demands are ſatisfied by a principle ſo happily eſtabliſhed and approved.

Of what nature ſhall the employment be at thoſe times?—Let religion pronounce, the anſwer cannot be long to ſeek. Two modes of occupation preſent themſelves: exerciſes of devotion; and leſſons of inſtruction in ſuch acquirements as are capable of being inliſted in the ſervice of de-

votion. That the whole extent of the time could not be excluſively appropriated to the former purpoſe, is obvious enough: the very ſentiment is more than will be to be found, until it be planted by inſtruction, in ſuch corrupt and vacant minds. Pater-noſters in inceſſant repetition, with beads to number them, may fill up, if you inſiſt upon it, the whole meaſure of the day: but the words, inſtead of being ſigns of pious thoughts, would be but ſo many empty ſounds, and the beads without the words would be of equal efficacy.

I ſpeak under correction: but for my own part I muſt confeſs, that among arts capable of being employed in the ſervice of religion, I ſee none that need be excluded, even on this conſecrated day, ſo long as they are actually and faithfully occupied in that ſervice. Among the moſt obvious are thoſe already mentioned in a more general view: eſpecially that branch of muſic which has received the name of *pſalmody*. And if arts of a more refined and privileged texture, ſuch as that of *deſign* in any of its numerous branches, could find admittance into ſo unpoliſhed a ſociety, why ſhould they be excluded even on that day, ſo long as they wear the habit of the day*.

Mode

* Drawing, engraving, and colouring prints of Scripture ſcenes for editions of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and other religious publications, furniſh conſtant employment for a number of hands incomparably greater than could ever be picked out

Mode of Airing and Exerciſing on Sundays.

To take their leſſons they repair, when ſeaſon and weather permit, to a kind of open amphitheatre in the airing-yard, of which, if neceſſary, there may be ſeveral, placed between the walks of the Airing-parade, for which once more ſee the figure. The form of this erection is circular, with part of the circle cut off as by a ſecant, in which the inſtructor ſtations himſelf ſo as to have none of his pupils behind him nor out of his view. Over the ſeats may be thrown occaſionally a canvas awning ſupported by iron pillars, with flaps to let down on the weather ſide, in caſe of violent wind or rain. If theſe flaps be not let down, or not let down on the ſide towards the Look-out, the priſoners in their ſchool are open to the eyes not only of the School-maſter, but of the Inſpectors ſtationed in that exterior Lodge. But at the worſt, the vicinity of theſe armed protectors averts from the inſtructor every idea of danger*.

It

out for ſuch ingenious arts out of a Penitentiary-Houſe. Reading and writing will, of courſe, on theſe days take religious ſubjects for their theme: and theſe vulgar branches of inſtruction will find ſufficient occupation for by far the greater part of the priſoners. But where theſe inferior ſources have been exhauſted, what ſcruple need there be of aſcending to the other higher ones? The great object of this conſecrated day is to keep alive the ſentiment of religion in men's minds: what exerciſe therefore that contributes to that end can juſtly be deemed unſeaſonable?

* Were the roof a permanent one, a tiled roof for example, it might be difficult to find a ſituation where it could be placed without affording obſtruction in ſome way or other to the inſpection principle.

It is not a very ſlight degree of cold, nor a ſlight meaſure of bad weather, that ſhould exclude them on this only day out of ſeven, from the healthful influence of the open air. But in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, the buſineſs of reformatory inſtruction may be transferred to the Chapel: there to be carried on between or after the times of divine ſervice.

Introduced into the middlemoſt Inſpection-Gallery by the correſpondent Traverſing-Staircaſe, in the ſame order as into the Airing-Parade, and with ſimilar precautions, they take their ſtations in the Chapel-Area and lower Gallery attached to it, two armed Inſpectors having firſt ſtationed themſelves in the Gallery above. Their ſtation gained, the doors by which they have been diſcharged into it from the circumambient Inſpection-Gallery are locked*. The Schoolmaſter may either occupy the Clerk's place under the pulpit, or quit it, and go round to them, according to the nature of the inſtruction to be conveyed*.

* Should it be deemed neceſſary, Mr. Blackburn's mode of ſedentary confinement might here be introduced: viz. that of letting down upon the level of their breaſts or ſtomachs as they ſit, a BAR, which without touching or much incommoding them, prevents their riſing till it be removed. Mechanics and Anatomy contributed each their ſhare in the production of this ſimple and ingenious contrivance, which however amidſt ſuch an abundance of ſecurities will hardly be deemed a neceſſary one.

* For inſtance, reading and writing portions of Scripture or other devotional books. The profane and worldly-minded ſtudy of arithmetic might perhaps be looked upon as ill-ſuited to this conſecrated place.

§ 12.

Of Ventilation, Shading and Cooling.

OF Ventilation, conſidered as a part of the regimen, little need be ſaid. In the cold ſeaſon the proceſs is carried on, and that in perfection, by the apparatus employed for warming; and even in warm weather, where no artificial heat is introduced, the ſame ſtructure can ſcarce fail of inſuring the ſame effect. Were it otherwiſe, nothing more eaſy than to keep the windows open, eſpecially on Sundays, and on week days at airing times, when the priſoners are abſent from their reſpective cells. In other priſons, comfort and health are at variance: and the preference given by uncultivated minds to preſent feelings over remote conſiderations, renders the inforcement of this part of the diſcipline more or leſs precarious. In a Panopticon, in this as in almoſt all other articles, tranſgreſſion is impoſſible *.

For

* In countries where the intenſity of the cold renders men particularly averſe to ventilation, deaths, as is obſerved by Howard from Ruſſian documents, are much more frequent in the cold than in the hot ſeaſon: a fact the more worthy of obſervation as the former, naturally the healthier ſeaſon, is not there attended with wet, nor ſubject to viciſſitudes as here. In a Panopticon thus equally warmed and conſtantly ventilated, the ſeaſon which would elſewhere be the leaſt healthy, may be expected to be the moſt ſo.

For *ſhading* in very hot weather, a ſtrip of canvaſs to each window may be neceſſary in the greater part of the circuit.

Of the apparatus contrived for warming, a part might, if it were ever worth while, be made ſubſervient to the oppoſite purpoſe. A cellar might occaſionally be taken into the aëriduct ſpoken of in the ſection on *Warming*, and in this cellar as in any other there might be *ice* *.

* In a Lazaretto built on the Panopticon principle as ſuggeſted in the ſection on *Warming*, a proviſion of this ſort would be not unſuitable, on the ſcore of comfort. Whether on the ſcore of economy, as a means of enabling work to go on at times when heat would not otherwiſe permit, any ſuch thing could be made to anſwer, might not be altogether undeſerving of conſideration. The facility might depend in ſome meaſure on local circumſtances.

§ 13. *DIS-*

§ 13.

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME.

Example for Working Days.

	Hours.
MEALS (two in a day) — —	1½
Sleep — — —	7½
Airing and exercise in the wheel for those employed in sedentary work within doors, at two different times, in the whole at least — — — —	1
Sedentary work — —	14
	24

Example for Sundays and Church Holidays.

Meals — — —	2
Sleep — — —	10
Morning Service — —	1
Evening service — —	1
Schooling—including catechising and psalmody. —	10
	24

Out of the time for sedentary work may be taken the small portion that will be necessary for the cleansing

cleanſing of the Cells on ordinary days, and the more thorough cleanſing to be given in the afternoon of Saturdays. As the cleanſing could not ſo well be performed by candle-light, nor work done after the cleanſing, whatever time remained after this latter operation might be beſtowed on ſchooling. The time applied to the latter purpoſe would of courſe vary according to the ſeaſon: but in ſuch variation there would be no inconvenience.

Is the time allowed for meals too little? Half an hour for breakfaſt and an hour for dinner is an allowance common among working people in a ſtate of freedom. My boarders, let it be remembered, have not two courſes and a deſert. My workmen have not to go to a diſtance for their repaſt. Is the number of meals in a day too ſmall? It is twice as great as that in uſe among the people of antiquity: it is twice as great as that which ſatisfied Homer's Kings.

Is the time allowed for ſleep too little? Lord Coke does not allow his ſtudent ſo much by a third*. Did he mean to ſubject his pupil, the darling of his affection, a youth of birth and education, to hardſhips, and to hardſhips too ſevere to be impoſed on felons? Lord Coke knew what a man

* Sex horas ſomno: totidem des legibus æquis:
Quatuor orabis: des epuliſque duas.
Quod ſupereſt uitra, ſacris largire Camœnis.

a man engaged in ſedentary occupations wanted: he ſpoke from experience. The condition of my felons is in this reſpect twice or thrice as eligible as that of many an honeſt ſervant at an inn*.

Are 14 hours out of 24 too many for even a ſedentary trade?—Not more than what I have ſeen gone through in health and chearfulneſs in a workhouſe by honeſt poor.

This ſketch, let it be obſerved, is offered rather in the way of example than in the ſhape of a pe-

* I happened once to fall into converſation upon this ſubject with a maid-ſervant at one of the London inns frequented by night-coaches. She went to bed once a week at moſt, nor then ſlept longer than other people. The other nights all the ſleep ſhe had was two or three hours doſing in a chair. No ill health: no complaint of hardſhip. Such is the power of habit: and ſo moderate in compariſon of the demands of luxury are the calls of nature.

Determined however on this point as on all others to be on the ſafe ſide, and being aſſured by men of eminence in the profeſſion that if the general rule was adapted, (as it certainly ought to be) to ſuch conſtitutions as required the largeſt allowance, that allowance could not well be leſs than eight hours out of the twenty-four, ſuch accordingly is the proportion I propoſe: taking only half an hour's ſleep from each of the days of labour to add to that day of which the characteriſtic deſtination is to be a day of reſt.

Bowing down to the law aphoriſm, *Peritis in ſuâ arte credendum eſt*, and preferring accordingly on a queſtion of this ſort the opinion of the Father of Phyſic to that of the Father of Engliſh Common Law, I ſtand juſtified by the reverend ſage himſelf by whom that ancient maxim is adopted and recognized, and who in the plan of diætetics above quoted, ſpoke perhaps rather as a poet than as a phyſician, and more from imagination than from experience.

remptory rule. All I mean to repreſent as fixed, nor that with unrelenting rigour, is the time for meals and ſleep: as to every thing elſe the proportions may be infinitely diverſified according to particular convenience.

Fifteen hours in the day employed in lucrative occupations: for in this regimen, be it never forgotten, even the time found for health is not loſt to induſtry*. Fifteen hours out of the twenty-four without the ſmalleſt hardſhip, and that all the year round: not much leſs, as we have ſeen, than double the quantity thus employed in the eſtabliſhments contrived at ſuch an immenſe expence for the extraction of forced labour.

Let it not be forgotten. Meal-times are times of reſt: feeding is recreation. Even change of work, eſpecially if from gymnaſtic to ſedentary, is repoſe: not to ſpeak of recreation.

The four and twenty hours a field for diſcovery! could any one have thought it? Five, ſix, ſeven, precious hours out of fifteen, thrown away as offal! Such is the account rendered by the authors of the Penitentiary-

* Nor need the portion, if any, which may be thought fit to be allowed to occupations of a literary nature, be all of it without an œconomical uſe. Such as could write well enough might copy for hire: at leaſt they might copy the accounts and other papers relative to the management of the houſe. Even muſic were there a demand for it, might find here and there a copyiſt among ſo large a number.

Penitentiary-Act of the talents committed to their charge!

Seven hours taken from induſtry, taken even from health, yet not added even to comfort, not to mention an object ſo perfectly unthought of as the improvement of the mind.

I ſay even from health.—By the cuſtom of ſleeping, or what is ſtill worſe, of lying abed awake, to exceſs, the animal frame is relaxed, the ſpirits ſunk, and the conſtitution debilitated and impaired: the habit of indolence is at the ſame time formed and rivetted, and the texture of the mind vitiated along with that of the body. This a meliorative, a reformative regimen? I had almoſt called it a corruptive one. As ſoon would I turn Macbeth and murder ſleep, as thus to murder health by ſmothering it under a pillow.

Whence all this waſte of health and time, one may almoſt ſay of good morals?—Is it to ſave money? Is it that ingenuity has not yet found out an employment for candle-light that will pay the expence of candles? Thoſe employments at leaſt might be carried on by candle-light, and by very little candle-light, knitting for example, which are carried on without eyes. But if nothing in this way could be found for them that would fetch money,

money, they ſhould have light to learn to read, or to write, or even to ſing by, rather than conſume time and health in ſhaking or ſhivering in bed, comfortleſs and alone, to ſave conſuming candles.

§ 14. *OF*

§ 14. *OF PUNISHMENTS.*

ON this head I ſhall not at preſent be minute: with regard to particulars a few hints may ſerve: principles have been laid down in another work*.

Puniſhments may be encreaſed in number without end, without being encreaſed in ſeverity: they may be diverſified with advantage by being adapted to the nature of the caſe.

One mode of *analogy* is, the pointing the puniſhment againſt the faculty abuſed: another is, ordering matters ſo that the puniſhment ſhall flow, as of itſelf, from the offending cauſe.—Outrageous clamour may be ſubdued and puniſhed by gagging: manual violence, by the ſtrait waiſtcoat: refuſal to work, by a denial of food till the taſk is done. The Spartan diſcipline may on this head furniſh a hint for the management of a Penitentiary-Houſe:† without puſhing the imitation ſo far as to make want of dexterity a capital offence, or treating Britiſh criminals with the degree of ſeverity, ſaid to be practiſed by Spartan parents on their innocent children.

Here

* Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legiſlation 4to. 1789.

† A boy was not to have his breakfaſt till he had ſhot it off a tree.

Here, if any where, is the place for the law of mutual reſponſibility to ſhew itſelf to advantage. Confined within the boundary of each Cell it can never tranſgreſs the limits of the ſtricteſt juſtice.—*Either inform, or ſuffer as an accomplice.* What artifice can elude, what conſpiracy withſtand, ſo juſt, yet inexorable a law? The reproach which in every other abode of guilt attaches itſelf with ſo much virulence upon the character of the *informer*, would find nothing here to faſten upon: the very mouth of complaint would be ſtopt by ſelf-preſervation—*I a betrayer? I unkind?—Your's is the unkindneſs, who call upon me to ſmart for your offence and ſuffer for your pleaſure.* No where elſe could any ſuch plea ſupport itſelf: no where elſe is connivance ſo perfectly expoſed to obſervation. This one ſtone was wanting to compleat the fortreſs reared by the inſpection principle: ſo many comrades ſo many inſpectors: the very perſons to be guarded againſt are added to the number of the guards. Obſerve here too another advantage of limited aſſociation over abſolute ſolitude. In an ordinary priſon, ſociety is a help to tranſgreſſion: in the Cell of a Panopticon, it is an additional ſecurity for good behaviour.

Covered with the ruſt of antiquity, the law of mutual reſponſibility has ſtood for ages the object of admiration. Freſh from the hands of Alfred,

or

or whoever elſe firſt gave it exiſtence, what was the compoſition of this celebrated law? Nine grains of iniquity to one of juſtice. Ten heads of families, with walls, woods, and hills between them, each to anſwer for the tranſgreſſions of every other! How different the caſe under the dominion of the inſpection principle! Here ſhines juſtice in unclouded purity. Were the Saxon law to be reduced to the ſame ſtandard, what would be the founder's taſk?—To give tranſparency to hills, woods, and walls, and to condenſe the contents of a townſhip into a ſpace of 14 feet ſquare.

§ 15.

Mode of Guarding on the Outſide.

FOR the more perfect defence of the ſurrounding wall, I have already ventured to propoſe a military guard*. Such a ſpecies of protection, though altogether foreign to the inſpection principle, and leſs neceſſary to a Panopticon priſon than any other, would not be without its uſe. It would add to the ſecurity without adding to the expence. As far as the conſtruction of the wall is concerned it might even ſave expence: ſince with this help the height and conſequent thickneſs of that boundary need be no greater than what was neceſſary to prevent converſation between the centinels without and the priſoners, except in a voice too loud not to be heard by the inſpector in the *Look-out*†.

Mr. Howard, in competition with his own opinion, to which it gives me pleaſure to find my own ſo comformable, the good Howard‡, with the candour ſo well ſuited to his benevolence, produces the counter opinions of two friends of his, the one a worthy man, whom I will mention, Dr. Jebb, becauſe he is no more: the other a gentleman of the

* Poſtſcript, Part I, § 20, 21. † Ibid. p. 269, and 292.
‡ On Lazarettos, p. 224.

the beſt intentions and of the pureſt zeal for liberty, whom on the preſent occaſion I chooſe rather to mark by theſe titles than by his name. According to the one, in no particular or poſſible circumſtance the interference of the eſtabliſhed "army "ſhould be admitted:" according to the other, "the objections againſt the military are numerous, "obvious, weighty, and irreſtibly concluſive." It is with concern one ſees ſuch opinions with reſpectable names to them, ſo worded and in print. A man writes naked *opinions* to a friend to whom he writes any thing: but to the public he gives *reaſons*. As to the "objections," of which however "obvious," none I muſt confeſs are diſcernible to my eyes, of theſe objections, if they weigh any thing, the lighteſt would have had more weight in it than all this ſound. What?—"In no particular or poſſible circumſtance?"—Would it have been better that London ſhould have burnt on, than that the military ſhould be employed in putting out the fires?

Upon the ſubject of this claſs of men, my notions, though not altogether ſo heroical, are like thoſe of the good Howard, much more ſimple. I would have as few of theſe regulars as poſſible: but from theſe few, as from all other public ſervants, I would draw as much ſervice as I could. In what reſpect is the military inſtrument of domeſtic peace

diſtinguiſhed from the civil?—In being more expert in the buſineſs, more efficient, better diſciplined, more trained to ſuffer while it is poſſible, as well as to act when it is neceſſary, and in the event of his acting too briſkly or too ſoon, more ſure to be forthcoming and made reſponſible. But if the military, or any other ſtrong and efficient power, is to be employed on any occaſion, and againſt any body, againſt whom ſhould it be made uſe of with leſs ſcruple, than againſt felons and their allies?

Is not prevention better than puniſhment? the better you are ſeen to be prepared againſt an attack, the leſs your danger of ſuſtaining one. Which then ſhews the beſt countenance againſt deſperadoes and incendiaries? an accidental civil force, or a ſtanding military one? I mean always that ſort of ſtanding army which conſiſts of a civil officer commanding a corporal's guard. *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, a maxim but too apt to be abuſed in matters of foreign politics, is ſurely in no great danger of being miſapplied in the politics of a priſon, a ſort of monarchy which has never yet been noted for plans of conqueſt, or aggreſſive enterpriſe.

It is a matter of ſubordinate conſideration, but ſurely not altogether undeſerving of attention, that a ſervice

a ſervice like this, of all peaceful ſervices the moſt reſembling a ſervice of defenſive war, is with a view to that ſort of war, one of the beſt ſchools that peace can afford of military diſcipline. Among citizens what ſort of enemy ſo formidable? and what ſort of citizen is it leaſt to be regretted that a ſoldier ſhould be in the habit of looking upon as an enemy?

Add to this, that the more frequently a guard changes, the leſs in danger it is of being corrupted. Let the change then be made a frequent one, the more it is ſo, the greater the number of thoſe to whoſe lot it falls to ſhare the benefit of this branch of military practice.

Would not the parade of military rigour help to impreſs the minds of men without doors with the idea of hard government?—Would it not help to widen the diſtance between the lot of the perſons thus coerced and the condition not only of the guiltleſs citizen, but even of the leſs obnoxious among malefactors? Would it not in this manner add to the terrific influence of the puniſhment without adding any thing to the ſufferings of thoſe who undergo it? Surely it would: for, once more, who is there that will deny the effect of ſcenery upon the eyes of the gaping multitude*?

The

* I leave it to the authors of the Penitentiary Act to inſert a common refectory into a plan of rigid ſolitude. But were I obliged

The military guard thus given to the ſurrounding wall would not ſuperſede the neceſſity of an unmilitary *Porter* for the gate. Whoever officiated in that capacity ought for ſeveral reaſons to be acquainted with the perſons of all who belong to the eſtabliſhment, and who as ſuch may be allowed to paſs and repaſs without examination. He ought likewiſe to be acquainted with the perſons of the priſoners: leſt any of them ſhould make their eſcape in diſguiſe, for inſtance by borrowing or ſtealing the cloaths of any of the under officers, or ſervants, or perſons admitted occaſionally to work in or about the Houſe.

A Centinel therefore, that is a ſoldier continually changing, would not ſo well anſwer the purpoſe. An artizan whoſe employment conſiſted in ſome ſedentary trade, a cobler or a weaver for example, might probably be found to accept of it, perhaps without any other recompence than the lodging it would afford*, at any rate for leſs than what

obliged to ſet the priſoners to eat in common, and like the Kings of Great Britain in former days, in public, it ſhould be (ſtill in purſuit of the ſame idea) under the guard of an armed party with preſented muſquets, loaded or unloaded, ready to fire on the firſt motion towards diſturbance. To ſpectators the entertainment might ſhew like that of the tyrant Damocles. But to thoſe who partook of it the danger would be but ſhow, knowing that ſecurity depended upon themſelves.

* Gate-keepers are commonly obtained on ſimilar terms for Parks.

what would be neceſſary to pay him for his whole time*.

* A fortreſs thus ſecured would have a collateral uſe. In times of riot, it would afford an aſylum, where obnoxious perſons or valuable effects might be lodged in perfect ſafety againſt every thing but cannon: an engine of deſtruction which has never yet been ſeen in the hands of any Engliſh mob: and it is only from ignorant mobs, even in times of civil war, that an eſtabliſhment of this nature could have any thing to apprehend.

§ 16. Proviſion

§ 16. Proviſion for liberated Priſoners.

HOW to make proviſion for the Priſoners at the expiration of their terms?—How to enſure for the future, with leaſt hardſhip on their part, with due regard to their reſpective characters and connections, and at the leaſt expence, their good behaviour and their ſubſiſtence?——It is time to be ſhort—here follows a ſlight ſketch.

1. The Priſoner not to be diſcharged but upon one or other of three conditions:

1. Entering into the land-ſervice.

2. Entering into the ſea-ſervice for life.

3. Finding ſome reſponſible houſe-holder who will be bound in the ſum of [50l.] for his good behaviour by a recognizance renewable from year to year: with a ſtipulation for ſurrendering the body in caſe of non-renewal*.

2. To

* A ſet of proviſions to this effect being enacted, an eſtabliſhment of ſome ſort or other would, I take for granted, be ſet up, for the reception of as many of the convicts as either could not embrace, or choſe not to embrace, any of the other options.

This ſubſidiary eſtabliſhment, I likewiſe take for granted, would be carried on in a building erected on purpoſe on the Panopticon plan, and no one ſeems ſo likely to be the Undertaker

2. To furniſh an inducement capable of engaging not only relations or other particular friends, but

as the Contracting Governor of a Penitentiary Houſe.—Upon the Panopticon plan, as giving him every facility for getting the moſt work done, and making the moſt of that work.—It would be worth ſomebody's while, becauſe the convicts, having by the ſuppoſition no other courſe of life to betake themſelves to, or none they liked ſo well, would ſerve on ſo much the cheaper terms.—It would be better worth the Governor's while than that of any body elſe, becauſe experience would have taught him how to apply the Panopticon principle in the way of management to the moſt advantage, pointed out to him a profitable mode of employment, and ſhewn him the preciſe worth of each man's labour.—It would be better worth his while to ſet them to work in a ſeparate Panopticon of his own erection, and upon ſuch terms as he and they could agree upon, than to have them continue on the footing of *Remanents* in the Penitentiary Panopticon, with head money to be paid him by Government, on the ſame footing as at firſt—Why?—Becauſe every ſuch *Remanent* would occupy the place of a priſoner in ordinary. The more he had of the former, the fewer therefore (if the number of ſuch *Remanents* were at all conſiderable) he could have of the other: whereas upon the ſuppoſition of a ſubſidiary Panopticon, the more workmen he could get to employ in it upon ſuch advantageous terms, the greater would be his advantage. Engaging his workmen too for the ſubſidiary eſtabliſhment for a conſiderable and certain term, he could depend upon them, and make his arrangements accordingly: whereas no *Remanent* could be depended on for two days together: ſince at any time he might, for aught the Governor knew, find ſome friendly bondſman, or at any rate embrace one or other of the other options. This uncertainty I keep up on purpoſe: leſt in caſe of a deficiency in the number of the priſoners in ordinary, the Governor, for the ſake of the head-money, ſhould make it worth the while of a priſoner whoſe term was expired to ſtay in upon the footing of a *Remanent*, and thus continue a burthen to Government, rather than embrace any one of the other options.

Why not oblige the Governor by a clauſe in his contract, to take *Remanents* at a reduced price?—Becauſe nothing would be ſaved by it. Antecedently to experience the Governor could not be ſufficiently aſſured in what degree, if in any, the labour of a convict

but ſtrangers, to take upon them ſuch an obligation, authority given to the priſoner to enter into a contract

convict would upon an average of all the convicts be more valuable at the expiration than at the commencement of his term: the more therefore he abated upon the *Remanents*, the higher he muſt charge upon the priſoners in ordinary. It is on that account that my object is as much as may be to get rid of *Remanents*, ſo that if poſſible there ſhall be none, except in the caſe of a man who has neither ability to pay an employer for his ſubſiſtence, nor friend, nor pariſh, a caſe which is likely to be extremely rare.

I had rather the Penitentiary Governor ſhould get the emancipated priſoners in this way than any other undertaker whom the view of profit, and not any particular connection with or friendſhip for the priſoner might induce to bid for him?—Why?—Becauſe the Governor is by this time a tried man in every reſpect, as well as a reſponſible one. It is on this conſideration I view with ſatisfaction rather than regret the advantage he will have over any other maſter in treating with them, before the expiration of their terms. At the ſame time I do not exclude other bidders——Why?—Becauſe ſuch a monopoly would be a hardſhip on the priſoners, and that a needleſs one.

Conſidered as a fund of recruits, the Penitentiary-Houſe would be an economical one. What will be ſtiled in Boatſwain's or Recruiting Serjeant's language *liberty*, and what, if it is to be called *ſervitude*, is at leaſt an honourable one, may ſtand inſtead of *bounty-money*. The more irkſome the civil ſubjection has been felt among a claſs of men diſtinguiſhed at one time at leaſt by their averſion to ordinary labour, the more likely they are to be caught by the buſtling gaiety and frequent indolence of a military life. As a ſchool for recruits, as a nurſery for a profeſſion in which every thing depends upon obedience, what can equal an eſtabliſhment in which for a courſe of years diſobedience has been impoſſible?

Can the ſource be objected to as a ſtain upon the ſervice?—Not ſurely by any one who can think with patience of the methods in which ſo large a portion of both departments has been habitually filled up under the preſent practice.—On the preſent footing in what ſtate are criminals received into a ſervice of which honour ought to be cheriſhed as the vital principle?—When the marks of depravity and its attendant ignominy are freſh upon their heads—

How

a contract for a term of any length, conferring on his bondſman the powers following: viz.

1. Power of a father over his child, or of a maſter over his apprentice.

2. In caſe of eſcape, powers of recaption, the ſame as by 17 G. II. ch. 5. § 5. in caſe of vagrants: with penalties for harbouring or enticing, as by 5 Eliz. ch. 4. § 11. in caſe of perſons bound for want of employment to ſerve as ſervants in huſbandry*.

3. The contracting Governor of the Panopticon Penitentiary-Houſe to be bound to keep the priſoner there, after the expiration of the term, though it ſhould be for life, until diſcharged in one or other of the three ways juſt mentioned: and that upon terms at any rate not exceeding thoſe on

 which

How under the propoſed arrangement?—After the guilt has been expiated, the moral diſeaſe cured, and the ignominy waſhed away by a courſe of purification ſtill more public than the offence. I would go farther—I would draw a marked line between theſe recruits and others, nor admit the ſtigmatized upon an equal footing with the irreproachable, till after a term of additional probation gone through in the army itſelf, and a ceremony reinſtating them in ſolemn form in the poſſeſſion of loſt character.

* The ſtronger theſe powers the eaſier it will be for the convict to find a maſter to his choice. Any one who from relationſhip or any antecedent connection, might be induced to ſtand bondſman to him without making advantage of his ſervice, will be equally at liberty to do him the friendly office: and the better terms he is enabled to give, the better he will be able to make.

which he would be to receive a freſh priſoner:—and ſo in caſe of ſurrender by a bondſman.

4. The priſoner's pariſh to be bound in ſuch caſe to give the crown an indemnification, not exceeding the utmoſt amount of the charge borne by reaſon of any pauper by that pariſh*.

5. The bondſman to be bound for the *maintenance* as well as the good behaviour of the liberated priſoner during the term of the engagement†.

6. The Governor of the Penitentiary-Houſe to be bound, on failure of the particular bondſman, to the extent of half the penalty ſpecified in his recognizance in caſe of forfeiture‡.

7. The

* No hardſhip on the pariſh: the burthen is no more than would fall on them of courſe. It gives them a chance of relieving themſelves which they have not at preſent. The caſe of a *Remanent* too helpleſs to do any thing at all for his ſubſiſtence will be extremely rare. Whatever he is able to do the Governor knows by experience, and can take him off the hands of the pariſh upon terms mutually advantageous. A trade which having been carried on in a Panopticon Penitentiary Houſe, might be carried on with equal advantage in a ſubſidiary eſtabliſhment conducted on the ſame principle, might be incapable of being carried on in a pariſh work-houſe.

† Otherwiſe he might give himſelf up to idleneſs, turn beggar, or throw himſelf upon the pariſh. The bondſman, when he had once procured the convict his liberty, might care little what became of him, ſo long as he kept from ſuch offences as would operate a forfeiture of the recognizance, or committed them at a diſtance where his identity was not known.

‡ If no proviſion were made for ſcrutinizing into the bondſman's reſponſibility, members of gangs might become ſecurity for one

7. The Governor bound alſo, on ſuch failure, for the priſoner's maintenance: but without being obliged to grant him relief on any other terms than thoſe of his returning to the Penitentiary-Houſe, or engaging in his ſervice for ſuch time as ſhall have been agreed on.

8. Such bondſman's recognizance to be taken before Juſtices in quarter or petty ſeſſions, with power to the Governor to oppoſe and croſs-examine, as in the King's Bench in caſe of bail.

9. The

one another, as ſwindlers lend one another their names to bills. Such particular bondſmen being ſo many competitors of the Governor's, generally ſpeaking he would, it is true, have a natural intereſt, even without this artificial one, in oppoſing improper bondſmen. But ſuch natural intereſt would be leſs and leſs, the leſs valuable a workman the convict were, whether through moral or natural infirmity. Beſides that ſuch a ſcrutiny, if it were not thus made the Governor's duty as well as his intereſt, would be an invidious taſk. What is more, it is in this way made his intereſt that whatever reformation is effected in the behaviour of the convict by the penitentiary diſcipline, ſhould be not merely apparent and temporary, but real and laſting.

To induce him to take upon himſelf all this reſponſibility, ſome allowance muſt be made him, but the degree of power given by the Panopticon plan, and the confidence he will naturally have in his own care and ſkill in the application of that power, will render it unneceſſary to be very liberal. Records or other documents will ſhew the proportional number of inſtances in which a convict after having been diſcharged from the hulks has been proſecuted for any ſubſequent offence.

In caſe of a crime operating to the detriment of an individual, the forfeit, to the extent of the damage, might be applied to the purpoſe of indemnification: an object ſadly and almoſt univerſally neglected by the criminal law. Proſecution for the forfeiture would thus too be rendered more certain. Recognizances to the crown are often of no effect for want of an individual whoſe intereſt it is to proſecute.

9. The recognizance to be regiſtered with the Clerk of the Peace, and annually renewed: upon failure of renewal, the reſponſibility of the Governor to revive, and with it the power of recaption.

10. Power to the Governor and the Priſoner to enter into a contract of engagement for any number of years, and that before the expiration of the term, ſubject to atteſtation before a juſtice as in caſe of enliſtment, and examination touching his conſent, as in the Common Pleas in caſe of a feme covert joining in the diſpoſal of an eſtate.

11. In caſe of diſpute between the Governor or any other maſter-bondſman and any ſuch ſervant, Juſtices to have cognizance, as at preſent in caſe of ſervants in huſbandry*.

12. Any ſuch contract ſo made with a priſoner not to give him a freſh ſettlement.

13. Power to government to remove to his pariſh

* The neceſſity of periodical renewal keeps alive the dependence, and with it the ſecurity. Honour and gratitude are ties too feeble for the law to truſt to, where ſo much ſurer may be had, eſpecially in the inſtance of ſuch a claſs of men. Thus circumſtanced a man will avoid not only puniſhable miſbehaviour, but idleneſs, drunkenneſs, begging, vagrancy, any thing which can lead to ſuch miſbehaviour or excite an apprehenſion of it. Moreover the ſhorter the term, the leſs the bondſman's riſque: the leſs therefore the difficulty of obtaining one: another inſtance of a proviſion beneficial at firſt view to the bondſman alone, but in effect ſtill more ſo to the convict.

riſh any ſuch *Remanent* remaining on the Penitentiary eſtabliſhment after the expiration of his term*.

14. Power to the pariſh to bind over to the Governor a Remanent removed or liable to removal: and that for a term not exceeeding ſeven years in the firſt inſtance, nor one year ever after.

Is there any thing wanting in the proviſion made by this plan?--Any thing to public *ſecurity*, to *economy*, to *humanity*, to *juſtice?*

The *ſecuring* the public againſt the future ill behaviour of a diſcharged convict has hitherto been looked upon as a problem, inſoluble except by death,

* To prevent remanency by colluſion betwixt the Governor and an able-bodied convict. If the allowance made by Government for Remanents is greater than what it would coſt the pariſh to maintain a man in their workhouſe, they will remove him thither of courſe: and the conſideration of being ſubjected to ſuch removal will prevent a lazy convict from throwing himſelf unneceſſarily on his pariſh, where if he could be maintained in idleneſs, he would naturally be diſpoſed to live. If the Governor, or whoever elſe ſets up a ſubſidiary Panopticon, finds it worth his while to take charge of the convict for a leſs conſideration or for nothing, the pariſh will in proportion be eaſed of the expence. By this plan, the burthen to the public can ſcarce in any inſtance whatſoever ſuffer an increaſe: and the probability is, that upon the whole it will be much diminiſhed. The only poſſibility to the contrary is the caſe of a Remanent convict who is at once pariſhleſs and helpleſs. But this caſe cannot be a frequent one, and the Governor being eaſed by his helpleſſneſs of all fears from his unruline[illegible], can hardly inſiſt upon any advance in his terms on binding himſelf in his contract to provide for all perſons ſo circumſtanced at pariſh price.

death, or ſome other puniſhment which under the name of a temporary, ſhould be in effect a perpetual one. The idea of abſolute incorrigibility is accordingly the idea which in many an eſtimate ſtands inſeparably annexed to that of a thorough-bred London felon. Be it ſo: upon this plan, be he ever ſo incorrigible, the public will have nothing to fear from him, ſince, till he has given ſatisfactory proof to the contrary, he will not be let looſe. When a ſuſpected perſon is put under the care of a Boatſwain or a recruiting Serjeant, the public peace, as far as he is concerned, is univerſally looked upon as ſufficiently provided for: and the great diminution thereby ſuppoſed to be effected in the proportionable number of crimes, is reckoned upon as no inconſiderable compenſation to ſet againſt the miſeries of war. But to put even this ſecurity in competition with that which is afforded by the Panopticon diſcipline, would be doing the latter great injuſtice. The ſecurity afforded by the military diſcipline or a ſtill better, ſuch then is the aſſurance which the public obtains of the good behaviour of every individual who has gone through his term in a Panopticon Penitentiary-Houſe: ſuch alone excepted for whom the affection of friends may have found particular bondſmen, and who by the confidence thus repoſed in them, have given proofs of a degree of truſt-worthineſs, ſufficient to place them in this reſpect on a level rather

ther above than under that of the ordinary run of men.

Will reformation, inward reformation, be or not be the reſult of ſuch a courſe of diſcipline? My own perſuaſion, my full perſuaſion, and I hope it is not too ſanguine an one, is that with very few or perhaps no exceptions it will be found to be ſo: and that at any rate in ſuch a period as that of ſeven years, the very diſpoſition to miſchief will be found to have been ſubdued. But ſhould even the diſpoſition remain, the ability will at any rate be chained down: and ſo long as that is the caſe, how it is with the diſpoſition is a queſtion which to every temporal purpoſe at leaſt, it is as immaterial as it would be difficult, to reſolve.

As to *economy*, the terms on which a man is ſubſiſted, cannot in any inſtance be more diſadvantageous to the public than on the preſent footing, and no bounds are ſet to the reduction of the diſadvantage.

Is there any thing wanting in the attention paid to the particular circumſtances and feelings of individuals?—Merely for want of employment, perſons to whom no guilt is imputed may by the ſtatute of Elizabeth be forced into ſervice in huſbandry, or, by the cuſtom of preſſing, enforced by occaſional laws, into one or other branch of the military

tary ſervice: and in both caſes without any option as to the employment, much leſs as to the employer. Here, no fewer than four options are given to convicts: options too which extend to the very perſon of the employer. Men accuſtomed to a ſtile of life ſuperior to that of the common run of thoſe who are obnoxious to this fate, would under a puniſhment nominally the ſame ſuffer more than their comrades in effect. Such perſons may, by the generoſity of a diſintereſted bondſman find themſelves clear of every obligation of ſervice. A father may thus reſcue his ſon, an uncle a nephew, a brother a brother, from the hardſhips of a degrading ſervitude. Independently of ſuch contingencies, priſoners who have either brought a general good character into the houſe, (for even ſuch will not be altogether wanting) or acquired one there, and are either able to get a livelihood or provided with friends who would furniſh them with one, will be ſure of bondſmen: and the faculty of inveſting the bondſmen with ſuch ample powers will render it ſo much the eaſier for the priſoner to find one. The more valuable a member of the community he is become in all reſpects, the better will his condition be: ſince he will find employers bidding against one another to obtain him.

Suppoſe him for want of particular friends or connections engaged with the Governor, or ſome other

other undertaker in a ſubſidiary Panopticon—in what reſpects would his condition differ from that of ordinary ſervice?——Only in the engagement's being for a longer term, and putting it out of the power of the ſervant by abſence or intoxication to deprive the maſter of the benefit of his ſervice. In theſe circumſtances a variety of indulgences would naturally take place—abatements would be made in the number of working-hours:—a curtain would guard the times of recreation and repoſe from the importunity of an inſpecting eye:—every ſeventh day would be a day of perfect liberty:—the comforts of matrimony would in this ſituation at any rate lie within reach. In ſhort, inſtead of being termed a ſtate of confinement ſweetened by indulgences, the juſteſt as well as ſimpleſt point of view in which it can be conſidered is that of a ſtate of free ſervice, only ſomewhat better guarded than ordinary againſt miſbehaviour and abuſe.

I hear an objection—*Your ſubſidiary Panopticon is a receptacle for manufacturers working in numbers under a common roof: and ſuch receptacles are found by experience to be nurſeries of vice. The manufactories, the only manufactories favourable to virtue are the diſperſed, the rural manufactories, thoſe which ſpread themſelves over the face of a country, and are carried on in private families by each man within the circle of his little family in the boſom of innocence and*

retirement. Be it ſo: it may be ſo for ought I know. But how great the difference, or rather how ſtriking the contraſt, betwixt an ordinary manufactory and one carried on upon the Panopticon principle! Is there any thing in the air of the country or in the ſtructure of a cottage that renders it inacceſſible to vice? Is the connection betwixt virtue and ſecrecy ſo excluſive?—No: the advantage which the domeſtic manufactory has in this reſpect over the moſt public manufactory, is not to compare to that which the Panopticon diſcipline has over that of the pureſt of all manufactories upon every other plan, public or private. In what other houſe, public or private, can equal ſecurity be found for the fidelity of the married, for the chaſtity of the ſingle, and for the extinction of drunkenneſs, that murderous infatuation in compariſon of which every thing elſe that goes by the name of vice is virtue?*

How is it that in public manufactories vice inſinuates itſelf? How? How but for want of the inſpecting eye of ſome one who has the power, and may be made, if he has not already, to have the inclination, to ſuppreſs it. With reſpect to drunkenneſs

* To poſſeſs a juſt and adequate conception of the powers of the inſpection-principle, requires a deeper inſight into its nature and effects, than can be expected perhaps from any one at firſt glance. So long as this perfect conception has not yet been formed, objection upon objection may be expected to ariſe. Many ſuch I have accordingly heard: but none againſt which a maturer view of the ſubject would not have ſhut the door.

enneſs above all things, is it poſſible that ſuch inclination ſhould be wanting to any maſter, of all others to the maſter of an indented ſervant? The drunkenneſs of the ſervant is the maſter's loſs: what the one ſuffers in his health and morals, the other ſuffers in his purſe.

This plan is not altogether ſo ſimple as I ſhould have been glad to have found it: but ſimplicity, though it ought never to be out of our eyes, is not always in our choice. There are other plans, which at leaſt as far as concerns the option, I ſhould ſay the no-option, given to the convict, are much more ſimple: but I leave to whoever is ambitious of it the praiſe of purchaſing ſimplicity at the expence of economy, good morals, humanity, and juſtice.

FINIS.

TABLE TO PANOPTICON:

OR,

TABLE of ENDS and MEANS: representing the principal ENDS or OBJECTS proper to be kept in View in the MANAGEMENT of a PANOPTICON, as applied to the Purpose of a PENITENTIARY-HOUSE or oth

And the principal EXPEDIENTS which may be employed for the Attainment of those ENDS

To which is prefixed a general Intimation of the Nature and Application of the Panopticon Principle, and the Principles of M

N. B. This Table is made to answer the Purpose of an Index——*Marks of Reference.*—Lett. Letters on the Panoticon. PS. I. PS. II. Postscript to ditto, Part I. and II.——Figures before or without the above Abbreviations refer

INTRODUCTION.

I.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE—the PANOPTICON Principle——INSPECTION Principle—or Principle of *virtual omnipresence.*

II.

Its immediate *mode of action* with regard to the persons to whom the influence of it is meant to be applied—The impressing them with an unceasing persuasion of their living and acting under view of an all observing, though human, eye.

III.

Its effects, with regard to the *advantages, political, moral* and *economical*, that may be derived from it, considered in the most general point of view—

1. Giving to *power over persons*, as far as the application of it is beneficial to society, a degree of *force* and efficacy, the utmost possible, and hitherto altogether unexampled.

2. Divesting such power of the capacity of being *abused* to the prejudice of the persons subject to it, by the application of a *check* of equal efficacy.

IV.

Political *objects*, to the effectuation of which the Panopticon principle, by the help of the principles of *management* here deduced from it, or combined with it, is capable of being applied.

1. *Punishment* and *reformation* of convicts.
2. *Confinement* of suspected persons *before trial.*
3. *Extracting labour* from the idle.
4. Facilitating the business of *instruction.*
5. Facilitating the *maintenance* of the *helpless.*
6. Facilitating *attendance* on the *sick.*
7. Strengthening the power of *education.*
8. *Easing the nation*, in time, of the whole burthen of the POOR LAWS.

V.

Edifices and *establishments* to which it is capable of being applied—to a greater or less extent, and with more or less advantage.

1. Penitentiary prisons.
2. Common jails.
3. Houses of Correction.
4. Houses of Industry.
5. Work-houses.
6. Manufactories.
7. Lazarettos.
8. Hospitals.
9. Schools.

In an inferior degree, to

10. Barracks for Soldiers.
11. Ships.
12. Fortifications.
13. Private Houses.

Points of Construction entering into the Composition of the Panopticon Principle.

I. SAFE-CUSTODY.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. *Central* situation of the *Inspection-Tower* occupied by the Governor and his subordinate. Lett. p. 4, 21. PS. I. 124, 127, 175, 198.

2. *Prisoner's Cells* in the *circumference* of the circle. Lett. p 4, PS. I. 127, 133.

3. *Cells*—on the side opposite the windows, and nearest to the Inspection-Tower, instead of walls *slight iron gratings* without cross bars. Lett. p. 4. PS. I. 224, 247

4. *Cells*—Side or Partition-walls in the form of *radii* to the circle, so as not to intercept the view from the Inspection-Tower. Lett. p. 4. PS. I. 237.

5. In the several stations of the Inspection-Tower, viz. the three Inspection-Galleries, one above another, and the Lodge within the middle one, *blinds* for rendering the Inspectors invisible to the Cells: so that no prisoner may ever know but that an inspecting eye is constantly upon him. Lett. p. 6, 22, PS. I. 175, 184.

6. The *invisibility*, coupled with the faculty of *inspection*, *extended* to every part of the building and its appendages—viz. *Passages*—PS. I. p. 217, 223, 227. *Staircases*—PS. I. p. 202, 211. *Store-rooms*—PS. I. p. 235. *Line* of *communication* between the building and the outlets—PS. I. 229, 238, 256, 279.

7. Between the Cells and the Inspection-tower, *void space* all round from top to bottom over the Annular intermediate sunken Area, answering the purpose of a *ditch* in fortification, and leaving every one of the six stories of Cells exposed to *inspection*, perfectly from one of the three stories of the Inspection-Tower, and more or less so from the other two. Lett. p. 13, PS. I. 138, 135, 138, 241.

8. On the Intermediate Area, under the Cell-Galleries, *Grated Passage* from the Staircase, preventing the prisoners from *approaching* the *Store-rooms*, &c. or *withdrawing* themselves *out of* the field of *inspection* in their passage from their Cells to the Yards. PS. I. p. 217, 219, 237.

9. All round the *outside* of the building, a *sunken Well*, answering on that side the purpose of *another ditch* in fortification. PS. I. 239, 247.

10. Horizontal *climbing* from window to window rendered *impossible*, by the *projecting angles* resulting from the polygonal form. PS. I. p. 248.

11. Prisoners *Passage-Galleries* and *Stair-cases*—of iron work, as *open* as possible for the sake of *transparency*. PS. I. p. 218, 252.

12. Stair-cases and other *passages, few* and *narrow*—to prevent insurgents from acting in force. PS. I. p. 136, 200, 203, 207, 230, 233.

13. *Passage-Galleries* to the Cells, constructed so as that it shall be impossible for a prisoner to take a *spring* from them across the Intermediate Area (8 feet) upon the roof of any one of the Inspection-Galleries. PS. I. p. 218.

14. No keeper under a necessity of ever coming nearer than within 12 feet of a prisoner, with a well of from 10 to 55 feet deep between them: the door of each Cell being opened from the Inspection-Gallery by a *pole*. PS. I. 135, 203. PS. II. 500.

15. The only *exit* (except through the Lodge) by a door crossing the only passage, viz. the Diametrical Passage) near the center of the circle, and *exposed* day and night *to* the full *view* and *reach* of a person stationed in an inaccessible post in the Lodge. PS. I. p. 227.

16. No *side-doors* opening, except from the Lodge, into any part of the Diametrical-passage anterior to its cross door. PS. I. p. 226.

17. *Access* to the Prisoners, none but *in* or *through* the Lodge, nor without *co-operation* of some person stationed there. PS. I. p. 228.

18. *Conversation-tubes*—rendering the correspondence between the keepers *instantaneous* as between one another, and *secret* as against the prisoners. Lett. p. 7. PS. I. 189, 193.

19. *Approach*—no more than *one* to the building: thence no access to any one of the officers or servants, without being exposed to the observation of all. PS. I. p. 280.

20. The *Approach*--a *straight* walled avenue of some length, cut through the general enclosure. Hence, no strangers near the building without being well surveyed from it as they pass, nor without being known to come on purpose. PS. I. p. 283.

21. The *Approach*—*commanded* in its whole length by apartments of the Governor and other officers, forming a rectangular projecting front to the building, and having *backwards a communication* at different places with the prison part, by *sight-holes* and *conversation-tubes*. PS. I. p. 280.

22. *Warning-bell*, from the Porter's Lodge at the entrance of the avenue to the Lodge *within* the building.—PS. I. p. 227.

23. Entrance into the avenue by *Gates*, made of *open* work to expose hostile mobs: on the other side of the road a *Protection-wall*, with a branch of the *road behind* it, to *shelter* peaceable passengers from the fire of the building. PS. I. p. 281, 293.

24. The surrounding *wall* encompassed by an *open Palisade*, with a *Centinel's walk* between, on which no one else can set foot without declaring himself a trespasser. The walks *crossing* and *flanking* each other at the ends, that each Centinel may have two to check him. PS. I. p. 281, 291.

25. *Guard-houses*—two—each commanding two of the four Centinel's-walks. PS I. p. 289.

26. *Alarm-bells*, from the Inspection *Look-out* in the Yards to the *Guard-houses*. Lett. p. 8. PS. I. 291.

27. No *public* highway or path near the *palisade*, except on the side of the Approach. PS. I. p. 282

28. The walls of the outlets *rounded off* at the meetings—to avoid giving the assistance which angles give to *climbing*. PS. I. p. 291.

29.

INELIGIBLE EXPEDIENTS *rendered unnecessary.*

1. Confinement in *Dungeons*. Lett. p. 64.
2. Confinement by *irons*.—Lett. p. 33.
3. Solitary Night-Cells. —PS. I. p. 141, 160, 338. PS. II. 420.

30. In *Manufactories*, and other Panopticons where seclusion is out of the question, *Inspection-Lantern*—a succedaneum to Inspection-Galleries and Lodge. PS. I. p. 182, 186.

MANAGEMENT dependent on or assisted by CONSTRUCTION.

31. *Assiduity* of the officers and servants ensured, by their making their *meals* in the Inspection-Lodge. PS. I. p. 194, 198.

32. *Beds* of the Under-keepers, stationed at *night* at the only places of *communication* between the Prisoners' Cells and the Inspection-Lodge. PS. I. p. 214.

33. No opportunity of *converse*, at *any* time, between the inhabitants of one Cell and those of another: either at working-time, meals, wheel-exercise, marching-exercise, bathing, time of divine service, or time of passage from place to place. PS. I. p. 141, 159, 204, 205, 256, 279. PS. II. 408, 424, 494, 496, 500, 504.

34. No means of introducing *strong liquors*, or implements of *escape*. *See* 17. Lett. p. 32. PS. I. 193.

35. Law of *mutual responsibility*, on presumption of complicity, as between inhabitants of the same Cell. PS. I. p. 321.

36. Temporary *connivance*, employed as a means of strengthening the persuasion of the impossibility of eluding the eye of inspection. PS. I. p. 181.

MANAGEMENT alone.

37. Peculiarities of dress, viz.
1. *Sleeves* of unequal length to keep up the difference in point of colour between the two arms. PS. II. p. 483.
2. *Shoes*—wooden—to prevent walking unperceived, and clambering. PS. II. 485.

38. *Visits* to particular prisoners to be entered in a *book*, with the names and descriptions of the visitor, person visited, time of day, &c.

39. A *Watchman* patrolling the house all night. PS. I. p. 296.

40. On reception of each prisoner, his *profile* to be taken, in readiness to be stamped on the advertisement in case of escape.

II. SECURITY AGAINST FIRE.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. No *combustible* materials employed in any part of the building to which the prisoners have access.—Partitions brick: floors, brick and plaister without joists: floors of the Galleries and Stair-cases, iron bar-work. Lett. p. 10. PS. I. p. 250, 253, 260.

2. *Supports* of the Inspection Tower, hollow iron; one of them a *water-pipe*. PS. I. p. 253.

3. Annular *Cistern*, running round the top of the building at the circumference. PS. I. p. 302.

4. *Watchman patrolling* all night. I. 39. PS. I. p. 296.

III. HEALTH AND CLEANLINESS.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. *Ventilation*, secured in perfection to every part of the building. PS. I. p. 196, 205, 217, 305, 325.

2. In *cold* weather, constant *change of air* by stoves acting on the *ventilative* principle. Lett. 8. 101. PS. I. 305, 331, 340, 342.

3. In *hot* weather, change of air by its admission at the aeriduct opening into the center of the building, and its discharge at the uppermost tier of the chains of ventilative tubes running through the stories of Cells. Lett. p. 101. PS. I. p. 324. PS. II. 509.

4. *Windows*, to open to every part, especially at the upper, which is nearly as high as the cieling. Lett. p. 101.

5. Opposite the windows, instead of wall *open grating*. I. 3. Lett. p. 4. PS. I. 252.

6. Cell-Galleries and Prisoners' Stair-cases—instead of close wood, stone, or brick, *open iron work*, PS. I. p. 218, 252.

7. *Void space* the whole height of the building—from the intermediate Area even with the sunken story, to the sky-light which crowns it. I. 7. X. 7. PS. I. p. 129, 135, 241.

8. *Water-closets*, instead of ordinary necessaries. Lett. p. 9.

9. *Cistern* annular, running round the top of the building. PS. I. p. 302.

10. *Floors* of stucco, free from roughness and interstices harbouring putrescible substances. PS. I. p. 254.

11. *Reception-room*, detached from the main building. PS. II. p. 492.

MANAGEMENT dependent on or assisted by CONSTRUCTION.

12. *Governor* allowed head-money, and to *pay* for every *death*.

13. *Infection*—all danger of the spreading of it precluded, by the inviolable *separation* maintainable between the inhabitants of different Cells, and the absolute *subjection* resulting from the inspection principle. I. 1.--7. Let. p. 28. PS. I. p. 336.

14. *Medical* Inspection and attendance unremitted--the Surgeon living and eating in the Inspection-Lodge. I. 1.—6 PS. I. p. 194. PS. II. 353.

15. *Spirituous* and other fermented *liquors*—their introduction rendered impossible. I. 1--7 PS. I. p. 145, 160. PS. II. 473.

16. *Cleanliness* in the extreme—the necessity of it kept up, and the expence of it defrayed, by the plan of admitting company to the Chapel in the center. PS. I. p. 170. PS. II. 490.

17. *Cloathing*—every article undyed, and frequently washed: coat, waistcoat, and breeches not excepted. PS. II. p. 491.

18. *Washing*—regular and frequent. PS. II. p. 490.

19. *Bathing*—regular and frequent—the sufficiency secured by the *form* given to the baths. PS. I. p. 263. PS. II. 490.

20. *Spitting* on the floor, &c. disallowed—Handkerchiefs and spitting-boxes. PS. II. p. 490.

21. *Tobacco*—none in any shape. PS. II. 490.

MANAGEMENT alone.

22. Unhealthy trades excluded. PS. II. p. 359.

23. No excessive fatigue—no complaints, for want of air or exercise—this from mixture of employments. X. 33. PS. II. p. 497.

24. White-washing frequent.

25. Hair shaved off or cropped. PS. II. p. 490.

26. Dogs or other animals—none to be kept by the prisoners.

27. In the Airing-yard, no sources of putridity: such as stagnant waters, drains, dung-hills, hogs, poultry, &c. PS. I. p. 267, 298.

IV. PRESERVATION OF DECENCY.

1. *Separation* as between the *Sexes*, if both are kept in the same building, ensured throughout by a variety of contrivances. PS. I. p. 203, 290. PS. II. 397, 407.

2. Apparent *omnipresence* of the keepers. I. 1—7.

3. Separation into *small assorted companies*. PS. II. p. 420.

4. *Decency-screen*, attached to each water-closet. Lett. p. 9.

5. During *bathing*, inspection by the same sex insured: by the opposite, prevented. PS. I. p. 264.

V. EXAMPLE *to* OTHERS.

1. Ignominious peculiarities of dress, viz.
1. *Sleeves*, of unequal lengths PS. II. p. 483.
2. *Shoes*, wooden. PS. II. p. 484.
3. *Stockings*—none but on Sundays. PS. II. p. 484, 485.
Skirts to the coat—none.
5. *Masks* at chapel-time?—PS. I. p. 173.
6. Shew of *military rigour*. PS. II. p. 437.

VI. REFORMATION.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. Unremitted exposure to inspection. I. 1—7.

MANAGEMENT dependent on or assisted by CONSTRUCTION.

2. *Spiritual care unremitted*: the Chaplain living and eating in the Inspection-Lodge. I. 1-6 PS. I. p. 194.

3. Seclusion, *inviolable* tho' mitigated, by separation into small assorted companies. PS. I. p. 139, 160. PS. II. 408, 424.

4. Attendance on *divine service*, and that regular, owing to the contrivance of the Chapel, as well during sickness as in health. PS. I. p. 172, 334.

5. *Form* of *prayer* adapted to the design of the establishment. PS. II. p. 493.

6. Particular form of prayer and solemnity, on *reception*.—PS. II. p. 493.

7. *Instruction*, intellectual, moral, and religious. *See* VII.

8. Exemplary *cleanliness* rendered *habitual*—its *moral* influence. PS. II. 491.

VII. COMFORT.

CONSTRUCTION.

Windows *glazed*: instead of holes in the wall, as recommended by Howard, &c. PS. I. 244, 249.

MANAGEMENT dependent on or assisted by CONSTRUCTION.

2. *Lives* of the prisoners *insured* by the Governor. II. 12. Lett. p. 63.

3. *Health*, provided for by securities of unexampled force. *See* III. 1—21.

4. Discomfort from *cold*, excluded by the regular and sufficient use of the warming apparatus. III. 2. Lett. p. 8. PS. I. p. 331. II. p. 353.

5. Discomfort from *heat*, excluded by shades and the provision for constant change of air and introduction of cool air by the aeriduct. III. 3—7. PS. I. p. 509. 510.

6. Instead of absolute solitude, *seclusion mitigated* by the establishment of small assorted companies. PS. I. p. 141. 160. PS. II. p. 408. 424.

7. *Oppression* by sub-officers or servants, prevented by the extreme facility of *visitation*, resulting from the inspection-principle. Lett. p. 29. 62. PS. I. p. 81. 194.

8. Ill usage and *quarrels* as between prisoner and prisoner, prevented by the apparent omnipresence of the keepers. Lett. p. 26.

9. Irons and dungeons rendered unnecessary. I. 27. Lett. p. 33. 64.

10. The comforts of *matrimony* allowable? PS. II. p. 407.

MANAGEMENT alone.

11. *Food*, to the extent of each man's desires. PS. II. p. 353. 357. 358. 449.

12. *Employment diversified*—sedentary with laborious, lucrative with instructive.——Thence, no excessive fatigue—no complaints for want of air or exercise. III. 23. PS. II. p. 497.

13. *Cloathing*, sufficient and constantly decent. PS. II. p. 353. 483. 486.

14. *Cleanliness*, constant and transcendent. *See* III. 1—21.

15. *Correction*, not to be administered but before witnesses. Lett. p. 62.

16. All acts of punishment, to be entered in a *correction-book*. Lett. p. 62.

17. Pain of *humiliation* averted by a *mask* to be worn at times, such as chapel-times, when the prisoner is conscious of being observed? PS. I. p. 173.

VIII. INSTRUCTION.

Schooling on *Sundays*, during all the time not occupied by sleep, meals, or divine service: a moral or religious direction being given to all the exercises. PS. II. p. 504.

IX. PREVENTION OF PRISON OFFENCES.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. Virtual omnipresence of the keepers. I. 1—7.

MANAGEMENT dependent on CONSTRUCTION.

2. *Mutual responsibility* as between the inhabitants of the same Cell. PS. II. p. 519.

X. ECON

CONSTRUCTION.

1. *Additional rooms*, none for
1. *Working* rooms. PS. I. p. 333. 344. PS. II. 412.
2. *Sleeping-rooms*. ib.
3. *Solitary Cells*, ib.
4. Dark Solitary Cells or *Dungeons*, ib.
5. *Infirmary*. ib.
6. *Chapel*, as far as concerns the Prisoners' seats. PS. I. 168, 334.

2. *Form*—the *polygonal*, for cheapness of workmanship, preferred to the circular. Lett. p. 4. PS. I. 263.

3. Walls of the building—all *extra thickness* rendered unnecessary by the inspection-principle. I. 1—7. Lett. p. 32. PS. I. 286.

4. *Cells double* instead of single: thence, every other side wall thrown out. Lett. p. 13. PS. I. p. 141, 160. PS. II. p. 408. 424.

5. *Cells*—Capable of receiving male or female prisoners, without prejudice to the most perfect plan of separation as between the sexes. PS. II. p. 397, 407.

6. *Cells*—*ceilings low*—higher rendered unnecessary by airiness and ventilation. III. 1—7.

7. Instead of *stories* of passages or staircases, *void space* from top to bottom between the Prisoners' Cells and the Inspection-Tower. Lett. p. 13. PS. I. p. 134.

8. Instead of a *solid* Inspection-Tower, annular Galleries *low* and *narrow*, with *void spaces* within and between them. I. 7. III. 7. Lett. p. 5, 6, 12, 16, 23. PS. I. 171.

9. Staircases and other *passages few* and *narrow*—wider ones being rendered unnecessary, by hoisting bulky packages into the Cell-Galleries up the Annular Well by a *crane*. I. 12. PS. I. p. 136, 200, 203. 207, 230, 233.

10. *Supports*—hollow cast iron *pillars*, serving for *chimneys* and water-pipes. PS. I. 253.

11. *Vacant spaces*—various made use for *stowage*. PS. I. p. 197.

12. *Window-bars*—mostly rendered *unnecessary* by the number of the stories and the depth of the external well. PS. I. p. 247.

13. *Window-bars*—quantity of materials reduced to its *minimum*. PS. I. p. 249.

14. *Locks* and other fastenings—expensive ones rendered unnecessary by the security resulting from the inspection-principle. PS. I. p. 221.

15. *Walls* to the *Airing-Yards*—extra height and thickness rendered unnecessary by unremitted inspection. Lett. p. 18. PS. I. 257, 271, 291.

16. The space necessary for *airing* without infringement on the plan of seclusion, reduced to its *minimum* by the plan of the Airing-Parade. PS. I. p. 278. 279. 294. II. p. 412.

17. *Security* against *mischief*—whether *clandestine* by individuals or violent from *mobs*—the result of the form given to the Approach and Fences. I. 17, 25. PS. I. p. 280.

MANAGEMENT dependent on or assisted by. CONSTRUCTION.

18. Management, by *Contract*—whence *interest* made one with *duty*, *negligence* rendered improbable, *peculation* impossible, and the manager's *profit* secured to the *public* for ever after his death, by the disclo-

ABLE TO PANOPTICON:

OR,

S: repreſenting the principal ENDS or OBJECTS proper to be kept in View in the CONSTRUCTION and ANOPTICON, as applied to the Purpoſe of a PENITENTIARY-HOUSE or other PRISON, &c.

principal EXPEDIENTS which may be employed for the Attainment of thoſe ENDS:

of the Nature and Application of the Panopticon Principle, and the Principles of MANAGEMENT connected with it.

Marks of Reference.—Lett. Letters on the Panoticon. PS. I. PS. II. Poſtſcript to ditto, Part I. and II.——Figures before or without the above Abbreviations refer to the Heads and Articles of the preſent Table.

To bind in at the End of Part II.

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PS. I. p. 182, 186.

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7. *Void ſpace* the whole height of the building—from the intermediate Area even with the ſunken ſtory, to the ſky-light which crowns it. I. 7. X. 7. PS. I. p. 129, 135, 241.

8. *Water-cloſets*, inſtead of ordinary neceſſaries. Lett. p. 9.

9. *Ciſtern* annular, running round the top of the building. PS. I. p. 302.

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17. *Cloathing*—every article undyed, and frequently waſhed: coat, waiſtcoat, and breeches not excepted. PS. II. p. 491.

18. *Waſhing*—regular and frequent. PS. II. p. 490.

19. *Bathing*—regular and frequent—the ſufficiency ſecured by the *form* given to the baths. PS. I. p. 263. PS. II. 490.

20. *Spitting* on the floor, &c. diſallowed—Handkerchiefs and ſpitting-boxes. PS. II. p. 490.

21. *Tobacco*—none in any ſhape. PS. II. 490.

MANAGEMENT alone.

22. Unhealthy trades excluded. PS. II. p. 359.

23. No exceſſive fatigue—no complaints, for want of air or exerciſe—this from mixture of employments. X. 33. PS. II. p. 497.

24. White-waſhing frequent.

25. Hair ſhaved off or cropped. PS. II. p. 490.

26. Dogs or other animals—none to be kept by the priſoners.

27. In the Airing-yard, no ſources of putridity: ſuch as ſtagnant waters, drains, dung-hills, hogs, poultry, &c. PS. I. p. 267, 298.

IV.

PRESERVATION OF DECENCY.

1. *Separation* as between the *Sexes*, if both are kept in the ſame building, enſured throughout by a variety of contrivances. PS. I. p. 203, 290. PS. II. 397, 407.

2. Apparent *omnipreſence* of the keepers. I. 1—7.

3. Separation into *ſmall aſſorted companies*. PS. II. p. 420.

4. *Decency-ſcreen*, attached to each water-cloſet. Lett. p. 9.

5. During *bathing*, inſpection by the ſame ſex inſured: by the oppoſite, prevented. PS. I. p. 264.

V.

EXAMPLE *to* OTHERS.

1. Ignominious peculiarities of dreſs, viz.

1. *Sleeves*, of unequal lengths PS. II. p. 483.

2. *Shoes*, wooden. PS. II. p. 484.

3. *Stockings*—none but on Sundays. PS. II. p. 484, 485.

Skirts to the coat—none.

5. *Maſks* at chapel-time?—PS. I. p. 173.

6. Shew of *military rigour*. PS. II. p. 437.

VI.

REFORMATION.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. Unremitted expoſure to inſpection. I. 1—7.

MANAGEMENT
dependent on or aſſiſted by
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2. *Spiritual care unremitted*: the Chaplain living and eating in the Inſpection-Lodge. I. 1.6 PS. I. p. 194.

3. Seclusion, *inviolable* tho' mitigated, by ſeparation into ſmall aſſorted companies. PS. I. p. 139, 160. PS. II. 408, 424.

4. Attendance on *divine ſervice*, and that regular, owing to the contrivance of the Chapel, as well during ſickneſs as in health. PS. I. p. 172, 334.

5. *Form* of *prayer* adapted to the deſign of the eſtabliſhment. PS. II. p. 493.

6. Particular form of prayer and ſolemnity, on *reception*.—PS. II. p. 493.

7. *Inſtruction*, intellectual, moral, and religious. *See* VII.

8. Exemplary *cleanlineſs* rendered *habitual*—its *moral* influence. PS. II. 491.

VII. COMFORT.

CONSTRUCTION.

Windows *glazed*: inſtead of holes in the wall, as recommended by Howard, &c. PS. I. 244, 249.

MANAGEMENT
dependent on or aſſiſted by
CONSTRUCTION.

2. *Lives* of the priſoners *inſured* by the Governor. II. 12. Lett. p. 63.

3. *Health*, provided for by ſecurities of unexampled force. *See* III. 1—21.

4. Diſcomfort from *cold*, excluded by the regular and ſufficient uſe of the warming apparatus. III. 2. Lett. p. 8. PS. I. p. 331. II. p. 353.

5. Diſcomfort from *heat*, excluded by ſhades and the proviſion for conſtant change of air and introduction of cool air by the aeriduct. III. 3—7. PS. I. p. 509. 510.

6. Inſtead of abſolute ſolitude, *ſeclusion mitigated* by the eſtabliſhment of ſmall aſſorted companies. PS. I. p. 141. 160. PS. II. p. 408. 424.

7. *Oppreſſion* by ſub-officers or ſervants, prevented by the extreme facility of *viſitation*, reſulting from the inſpection-principle. Lett. p. 29. 62. PS. I. p. 81. 194.

8. Ill uſage and *quarrels* as between priſoner and priſoner, prevented by the apparent omnipreſence of the keepers. Lett. p. 26.

9. Irons and dungeons rendered unneceſſary. I. 27. Lett. p. 33. 64.

10. The comforts of *matrimony* allowable? PS. II. p. 407.

MANAGEMENT alone.

11. *Food*, to the extent of each man's deſires. PS. II. p. 353. 357. 358. 449.

12. *Employment diverſified*—ſedentary with laborious, lucrative with inſtructive.——Thence, no exceſſive fatigue—no complaints for want of air or exerciſe. III. 23. PS. II. p. 497.

13. *Cloathing*, ſufficient and conſtantly decent. PS. II. p. 353. 483. 486.

14. *Cleanlineſs*, conſtant and tranſcendent. *See* III. 1—21.

15. *Correction*, not to be adminiſtered but before witneſſes. Lett. p. 62.

16. All acts of puniſhment, to be entered in a *correction-book*. Lett. p. 62.

17. Pain of *humiliation* averted by a *maſk* to be worn at times, ſuch as chapel-times, when the priſoner is conſcious of being obſerved? PS. I. p. 173.

VIII. INSTRUCTION.

Schooling on *Sundays*, during all the time not occupied by ſleep, meals, or divine ſervice: a moral or religious direction being given to all the exerciſes. PS. II. p. 504.

IX. PREVENTION OF PRISON OFFENCES.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. Virtual omnipreſence of the keepers. I. 1—7.

MANAGEMENT
dependent on
CONSTRUCTION.

2. *Mutual reſponſibility* as between the inhabitants of the ſame Cell. PS. II. p. 519.

X. ECONOMY.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. *Additional rooms*, none for
1. *Working* rooms. PS. I. p. 333. 344. PS. II. 412.
2. *Sleeping-rooms*. ib.
3. *Solitary Cells*, ib.
4. Dark Solitary Cells or *Dungeons*, ib.
5. *Infirmary*. ib.
6. *Chapel*, as far as concerns the Priſoners' ſeats. PS. I. 168, 334.

2. *Form*—the *polygonal*, for cheapneſs of workmanſhip, preferred to the circular. Lett. p. 4. PS. I. 263.

3. Walls of the building—all *extra thickneſs* rendered unneceſſary by the inſpection-principle. I. 1—7. Lett. p. 32. PS. I. 286.

4. *Cells double* inſtead of ſingle: thence, every other ſide wall thrown out. Lett. p. 13. PS. I. p. 141, 160. PS. II. p. 408. 424.

5. *Cells*—Capable of receiving male or female priſoners, without prejudice to the moſt perfect plan of ſeparation as between the ſexes. PS. II. p. 397, 407.

6. *Cells—ceilings low*—higher rendered unneceſſary by aireneſs and ventilation. III. 1—7.

7. Inſtead of *ſtories* of paſſages or ſtaircaſes, *void ſpace* from top to bottom between the Priſoners' Cells and the Inſpection-Tower. Lett. p. 13. PS. I. p. 134.

8. Inſtead of a *ſolid* Inſpection-Tower, annular Galleries *low* and *narrow*, with *void ſpaces* within and between them. I. 7. III. 7. Lett. p. 5, 6, 12, 16, 23. PS. I. 171.

9. Staircaſes and other *paſſages few* and *narrow*—wider ones being rendered unneceſſary, by hoiſting bulky packages into the Cell-Galleries up the Annular Well by a *crane*. I. 12. PS. I. p. 136, 200, 203. 207, 230, 233.

10. *Supports*—hollow caſt iron *pillars*, ſerving for *chimneys* and water-pipes. PS. I. 253.

11. *Vacant ſpaces*—various made uſe for *ſtowage*. PS. I. p. 197.

12. *Window-bars*—moſtly rendered *unneceſſary* by the number of the ſtories and the depth of the external well. PS. I. p. 247.

13. *Window-bars*—quantity of materials reduced to its *minimum*. PS. I. p. 249.

14. *Locks* and other faſtenings—expenſive ones rendered unneceſſary by the ſecurity reſulting from the inſpection-principle. PS. I. p. 221.

15. *Walls* to the *Airing-Yards*—extra height and thickneſs rendered unneceſſary by unremitted inſpection. Lett. p. 18. PS. I. 257, 271, 291.

16. The ſpace neceſſary for *airing* without infringement on the plan of ſecluſion, reduced to its *minimum* by the plan of the Airing-Parade. PS. I. p. 278. 279. 294. II. p. 412.

17. *Security* againſt *miſchief*—whether *clandeſtine* by individuals or violent from *mobs*—the reſult of the form given to the Approach and Fences. I. 17, 25. PS. I. p. 280.

MANAGEMENT
dependent on or aſſiſted by.
CONSTRUCTION.

18. Management, by *Contract*—whence *intereſt* made one with *duty*, *negligence* rendered improbable, *peculation* impoſſible, and the manager's *profit* ſecured to the *public* for ever after his death, by the diſcloſures which he may be engaged to make if ſecured in the enjoyment of his ſituation during life. Lett. p. 37. PS. II. p. 362, 396.

19. *Priſoners' time*—the capacity of working in all weathers ſecured to them, by the allowance of ſedentary employments, and the proviſion made for uniformity of temperature. III. 1—7. IX. 1, 4, 5.

20. *Inſpectors' time*—From *one* ſtory of the Inſpection-Tower, in conſequence of the relative elevation given to its floor, *two* ſtories of cells capable of being inſpected to perfection, and to a degree more or leſs perfect, all ſix. I. 7. Lett. p. 14, 25. PS. I. p. 129, 135, 138, 241.

21. *Inſpectors' time*—ſaving from their opening the Cell-doors by a *pole* from the Inſpection-Galleries, inſtead of going round by the Cell-Galleries. I. 14. PS. I. p. 135, 203, 499.

22. *Priſoners'* and *Inſpectors' time*—ſaving by inſtantaneous tranſmiſſion of orders and reports all over the building by the *converſation-tubes*. I. 19. Lett. p. 7. PS. I. 189, 193.

23. *Inſpectors*——*number*——Particular ones to the priſoners, when employed in the warehouſes and offices even with the intermediate ſunken area, rendered unneceſſary by the *ſight-hole* given to the *Inſpector's-drop*, in the line of communication between the interior and exterior Lodges. PS. I. p. 236.

24. *Inſpectors*——*number*——Turnkeys unneceſſary, the Cells being opened by a *pole* from the Inſpection-Galleries. I. 14. X 21. PS. I. p. 135, 203. PS. II. p 499.

25. *Inſpectors*——*number*——Turnkey or Porter to the houſe rendered unneceſſary by the mode of letting viſitors into and from the Lodge. I. 17. PS .I. p. 227, 282. *See* I. 153. II. 82, 207.

26. *Fewel*.—the quantity employed for warming and cooking reducible to its *minimum*. PS. I. p. 305, 332.

27. *Chapel*—the expence of it defrayable by the admiſſion of viſitors. III. 16. PS. I. p. 170, 280.

MANAGEMENT alone.

28. *Choice* of *trades*—liberty to chooſe the moſt profitable, without regard to the hardneſs of the work. Lett. p. 44. 53. PS. II. 425, 498.

29. *Choice* of trades—liberty to put the priſoners to their own trades. Lett. p. 44, 52.

30. *Choice* of trades—Priſoners having trades, to teach them to fellow-priſoners. PS. I. p. 152.

31. *Quantity of work*—the quantity of time capable of being profitably employed brought to its *maximum* by *mixture* of employments, ſedentary with laborious. PS. II. p. 427, 464.

32. *Quantity* of work——Hours unoccupied, no more allowed than are *neceſſary* for meals and ſleep. PS. II. p. 449, 513.

33. *Quantity of work*—*Airing* and *Exerciſe* converted to profit in the inſtance of priſoners principally employed in ſedentary trades. PS. II. p. 497.

34. *Food*——though unlimited in *quantity*, the cheapeſt in *kind*, and that without variety or change. PS. II. 353, 358, 472, 482.

35. *Cloathing*—all unneceſſary parts and articles ſtruck off. I. 35. PS. II. p. 483, 486.

XI. FUTURE GOOD BEHAVIOUR AND SUBSISTENCE.

1. *Subſidiary Panopticon*—encouragement given to the Governor to ſet one up, for the reception of convicts diſcharged from the Penitentiary-Houſe. Lett. p. 70. PS. II. p. 526.

2. Options given to convicts on diſcharge.
1. Entering into the ſervice.
2. Engagement in the Subſidiary Panopticon.
3. Liberty, on ſecurity given by private Bondſmen, for good behaviour and ſubſiſtence. PS. II. p. 526.

3. Inducement given to the *friends* of the convict to become bound for him—power over him to be conferred on them with his conſent. PS. II. p. 529.

4. Convicts not embracing one or other of the options to ſtay in the Penitentiary Houſe. PS. II. p. 526.

5. Care taken not to burthen government with additional expence on this account. PS. II. p. 532, 533.

6.—nor the Pariſh. PS. II. p. 530, 533.

7. Governor—intereſted to oppoſe *inſufficient* private Bondſmen, by being made *reſponſible* for them to a certain extent, in caſe of their failure. PS. II. p. 530.

8. *Perſeverance* in good behaviour—provided for by a periodical renewal of the recognizance. PS. II. p. 532.

9. *Indemnification* of parties injured by ill-behaviour of a diſcharged convict, for whom ſecurity had been found, provided for out of the forfeiture. PS. II. p. 530.

10. Good behaviour——grounds for expecting it—
1. Long continued habits of quietneſs and obedience—contracted under the influence of the inſpection-Principle—I. 1—7. PS. II. p. 535.
2. Probability of *reformation*. VI. 1—6.
3. *Friendſhip* firm and innocent, likely to have been formed betwixt the inmates of the ſame cell. PS. I. p. 154.
4. *Earnings* while in the Penitentiary-Houſe——a part laid up upon the principle of the *Friendly Societies*, to form a proviſion for *old age*.

XII. SUBORDINATION ON THE PART OF SUB-OFFICERS AND SERVANTS.

N. B. *Upon the proviſion made for this object depends the attainment of all the others*——

1. The *panopticon principle* ſecures to the manager in chief a command over his ſubordinates equally perfect with theirs over the priſoners. I. 1—7. Lett. p. 25. PS. I. 188, 194.

2. *Converſation tubes*—compleat the meaſure of ſubordination by rendering correſpondence inſtantaneous. I. 18. X. 22. Lett. p. 7. PS. I. 189, 195.

APPENDIX.

Principal ERRORS obſervable in relation to the Conſtruction and Management of PENITENTIARY HOUSES.

CONSTRUCTION.

1. Uſeleſs multiplication of apartments.—X. 1.

2. Occaſional aggregation of priſoners in large and promiſcuous companies in the ſame apartment or the ſame yard. I. 31.

3. Unneceſſary and expenſive height of cieling. III. 1—7.

4. Holes inſtead of windows. III. 1.

5. Parts of the Eſtabliſhment placed remote from each other. PS. I. p. 193.

6. Parts of the eſtabliſhment left acceſſible to mobs, or ill-intentioned individuals. X. 17. PS. I. p. 284.

7. Stations of the ſubordinates out of view and hearing of the Manager in chief. XI. 1.

8. The eſtabliſhment adapted to employments ſupplying the priſoners with offenſive weapons, or implements of eſcape. Lett. p. 56. PS. I. 271.

9. Unneceſſary and expenſive ſpaciouſneſs of airing-ground. X. 16.

MANAGEMENT.

10. Putting the management in hands unintereſted in the ſucceſs, or leſs intereſted than they might be. X. 18.

11. Perpetual ſolitude, or ſolitude alternating with promiſcuous aſſociation. I. 31.

12. Fettering domeſtic economy by Parliamentary regulations. PS. II. p. 388.

13. Taking hard labour for the object, inſtead of profit. X. 28.

14. Putting a negative upon mixture or change of employments. III. 22. IX. 12.

15. Attempting to fix the degree of labour, by fixing the number of working-hours, without regard to ſeverity of exerciſe. X. 32. PS. II. p. 430, 449.

16. Regulating the number by the time of year: without regard to heat and cold. PS. II. 450.

17. Leſſening the quantity of work on account of length of ſtanding. PS. II. 453.

18. Throwing the priſoners unneceſſarily into *claſſes*, and ſubjecting all in a claſs to the ſame treatment, to the neglect of the particular circumſtances of individuals. PS. II. p. 466.

19. *Food*—deficient in quantity. X. 34.

20. *Sort*—any other than the cheapeſt.

21. *Mixture* or *variety* exciting ſuperfluous conſumption. PS. II. p. 351, 355.

22. *Cloathing*—Allowance of ſuperfluous articles or parts in compliance with mere faſhion. X. 35.

23. *Sort*—any other than the cheapeſt of thoſe which afford ſufficient warmth. X. 35.

II. COLLATERAL OBJECTS RESPECTING WHICH VIEWS OF IMPROVEMENT Are here ſuggeſted.

1. *Domeſtic economy — Population* — Huſbandry of *fewel*: by reducing to its *minimum* the quantity neceſſary to produce a given degree of heat for a given purpoſe. Thence removal of the limits to the poſſible degree of population.—A Panopticon would be peculiarly fitted for experiments in this view. PS. I. p. 325.

2. *Health*—Improvement of the theory and practice of *ventilation*: and thence, prevention of the diſeaſes liable to ariſe from foul air, or from freſh air applied in partial guſts. PS. I. p. 305, 332.

3. *Security againſt injury*.—Protection afforded to buildings, goods, and perſons, particularly liable to ſuffer from popular violence. PS. I. p. 299.

4. *Perſonal ſecurity*—Diſcrimination of the innocent from the guilty in time of riot, by providing quiet paſſengers with ſhelter from the fire levelled at aſſailants. PS. I. p. 293.

5. *Domeſtic economy*—Inſtantaneous correſpondence all over in dwelling-houſes and manufactories, by converſation-tubes, to ſave time ſpent by ſervants and other ſubordinates in going backwards and forwards for orders. PS. I. p. 189, 192.

6. *Military ſervice*—A Panopticon Penitentiary Houſe a probable fund and excellent ſchool for *Recruits*. PS. II. p. 529.

7. Alſo a ſchool for convict *Coloniſts*. PS. II. p. 546.

PANOPTICON: Plate III: exhibiting the idea of a mode of **FORTIFICATION** adapted to **PRISONS**: containing 1. Mode of forming the **APPROACH**: 2. **EXTERNAL AREA** attached to a **PANOPTICON**: 3. Mode of Guarding against attempts on the **SURROUNDING WALLS**. Also representing the might be connected under **ONE ESTABLISHMENT**.

I. APPROACH.

ABCD represents a Panopticon, with the Area belonging to it, inclosed by a general surrounding Wall.

E the Approach: contracted at the entrance, that it may be the more easily guarded by a Centinel or Gate-keeper. Next to him is a small gate opening into a Foot-path: next to that, a larger Gate at which Carriages are to enter: then a similar one, at which they are to go out: beyond that again a Footway, into which no opening is made, as being too far from the Gate-keeper's station, to be under his guard. The Gates may be of iron, in order to be seen through from the House; and ten feet high so as not to be climbed over but with great difficulty, to encrease which they might be crowned with a broad coping, projecting over on that side.

S a Lamp-Post, or some such object, by way of central mark, to direct carriages in turning.

I I Two Gates, one on each side the Approach, opening into the part of the Area allotted to exterior offices, and Officer's Gardens. They are of iron, that they may be seen through from the House.

F a Wall, serving in case of an attack, to guard the Country behind from the fire of Musquetry from the House.

Between *E* and *F*, the Ordinary Road. Between *F* and *G*, a branch of the Road, behind which peaceable Passengers may pass under Shelter, at the time of an attack.

II. OUTLETS.

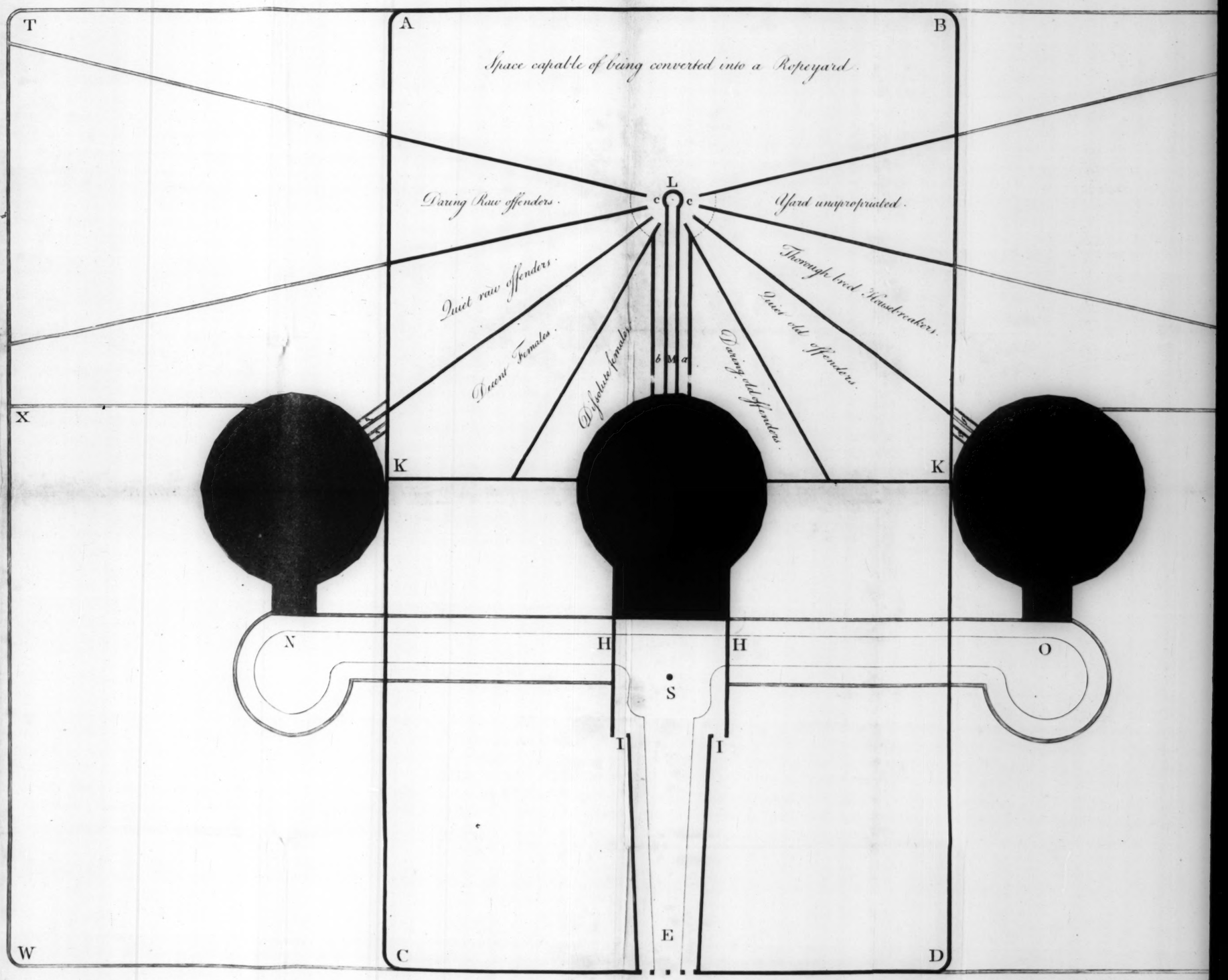
ABKK. Space allotted for Airing-Yards, to exemplify the Mode of marking out Divisions for the reception of different classes of Prisoners. N.B. It is not supposed that so many would be necessary. The number here given is put only by way of example.

L a Look-out, or Inspection-Lodge: from whence a single Inspector may inspect all the Yards.

M L a Covered-Way, through which an Inspector may pass from the Building and back again, without the knowledge of the Prisoners.

c c c Circular Yard, encompassing the Look-out and affording a common Approach to all the Yards.

a c Uncovered Passage for the Male Prisoners to the Central Yard: *b c D*^{o} for Females. Between the Walls are Iron Gates, not so high as not in any degree to intercept the view.



M L

W. Reveley Arch^{t}.

[2] The double line encompassing the Surrounding Wall represents a slight Pallisado, to prevent Passengers from approaching the Wall without putting themselves into the predicament of delinquents. The dotted line represents the Walks of the Centinels.

Each Walk is extended in such manner as to cross and flank two others: that each Centinel may have two others to check him.

W. JUNCTION of THREE Panopticons.

N H H O Road forming the Communication between the Central and two Lateral

F

G

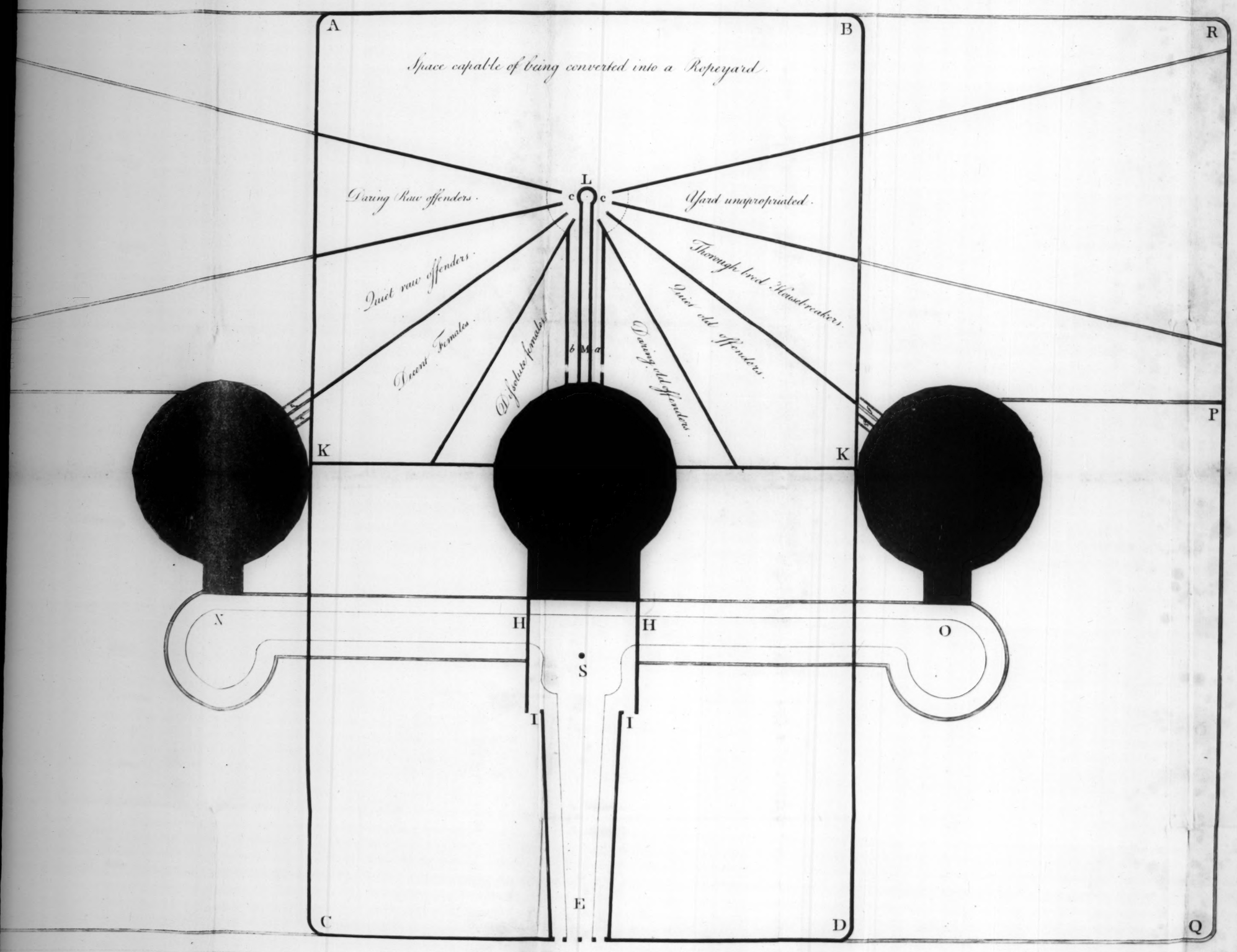
Lateral Panopticons. N.B. In this case the Walls *N H*, as to that part of each, which crosses and blocks up the Road, must be conceived to be away: as also the whole of the Walls *A B D C*.

A K X T. Additional space for Airing-Yards upon the supposition of a 2^{d} Panopticon.

B K P R

B K P R D^{o} upo
of a 3
d e f g Commun
2^{d} and 3^{d} Panoptic
Look-out *L*, simi
the 1st. / N.B. It is
confusion, that the
off in the

...n the idea of a mode of **FORTIFICATION** adapted to **PRISONS**: containing, 1. Mode of forming the **APPROACH**: 2. Application of the Inspection-Principle to the ...n a **PANOPTICON**: 3. Mode of Guarding against attempts on the **SURROUNDING WALLS**. Also representing the Mode in which **THREE PANOPTICONS** might be connected under **ONE ESTABLISHMENT**.



...vered-Way, through which the Inspector may pass from building and back again

again, without the knowledge of the Prisoners.

ccc Circular Yard, encompassing the

the Look-out and affording a common Approach to all the Yards.

a c Uncovered Passage for the Mode

Male Prisoners to the Central Yard: b c D. for Females. Between the Walls are Iron Gates.

not so high as to impede in any degree the Inspectors view.

The Partition Walls project beyond the Gates into the Central Yard, to prevent Prisoners in different Yards from holding converse.

Γ1 K K C D Space for Exterior Offices and Gardens.

III. Mode of GUARDING on the Outside.

Γ1 Γ2 Two Guard-Houses, each flanking the paths of two Centinels. That toward the Yards (Γ2) might have a story so high as to command them: & it might have a communication with them, not to be used but in case of Alarm: for instance by an underground passage opening into the commanding-Officer's Apartment, or a Ladder kept under lock he alone keeping the key. To prevent all converse, however distant, between the Soldiers and the Prisoners, it should have no Windows looking out into any part of the Yards: for which reason it is also detached from the Wall, and placed at the greatest distance from the Female Prisoners.

The

Had they been projected straight forward like those from the 1st, they could not have joined the Look-out without being bent towards it in an angle, which would have concealed more or less of the Area from the Inspector's view. It is to avoid the same inconvenience, that the Walls at X and P are brought forward almost to a tangent to the Circle, instead of being placed nearer to the diameter: for example in the same direction as the Walls K K.

XW C Additional Space for Offices and Gardens, upon Supposition of a 2d Panopticon: P Q D D. upon supposition of a 3d. N.B. The Walls should all of them be rounded off at the junctions, as at T, R Q &c. to avoid giving the assistance which angles afford in climbing.

...ble line encompassing the ...ding Wall represents a slight ...d. to prevent Passengers ...pproaching the Wall without ...themselves into the predicament ...quents. The dotted line ...ts the Walks of the ...nels.

Each

Each Walk is extended in such manner as to cross and flank two others: that each Centinel may have two others to check him.

W. JUNCTION of THREE Panopticons.

N H H O Road forming the Communication between the Central and two

Lateral

F

G

Lateral Panopticons. N.B. In this case the Walls H H, as to that part of each, which crosses and blocks up the Road, must be conceived to be away: as also the whole of the Walls A B D C.

A K X T. Additional space for Airing-Yards, upon the supposition of a 2d Panopticon.

B K P R

B K P R D. upon supposition of a 3d.

d e f g Communications for the 2d and 3d Panopticons with the Look-out L, similar to those from the 1st. N.B. It is to prevent confusion, that they are thus cut-off in the Draught.

Had

…ibiting a General Idea of a **PENITENTIARY PANOPTICON** in an improved, bu… as yet (Jan.ʳʸ 23. 1791) unfinished. State See. Postscript.

…incipal Alterations from the first design, as described in Letter 2.ᵈ and …rfectly represented in Plate 1.ˢᵗ

…nnular Well all the way up, crowned by an uninterrupted opening Sky-light, …stead of a Story of Intermediate Area to every two Stories of Cells.

…lls enlarged in depth, by throwing into them the space occupied, in the first design, by the …otracted Partitions, and by giving the Upper Row in each pair the same depth …as the Under Row.

…Cells, two laid into One.

…lls, Stories Six instead of Four.

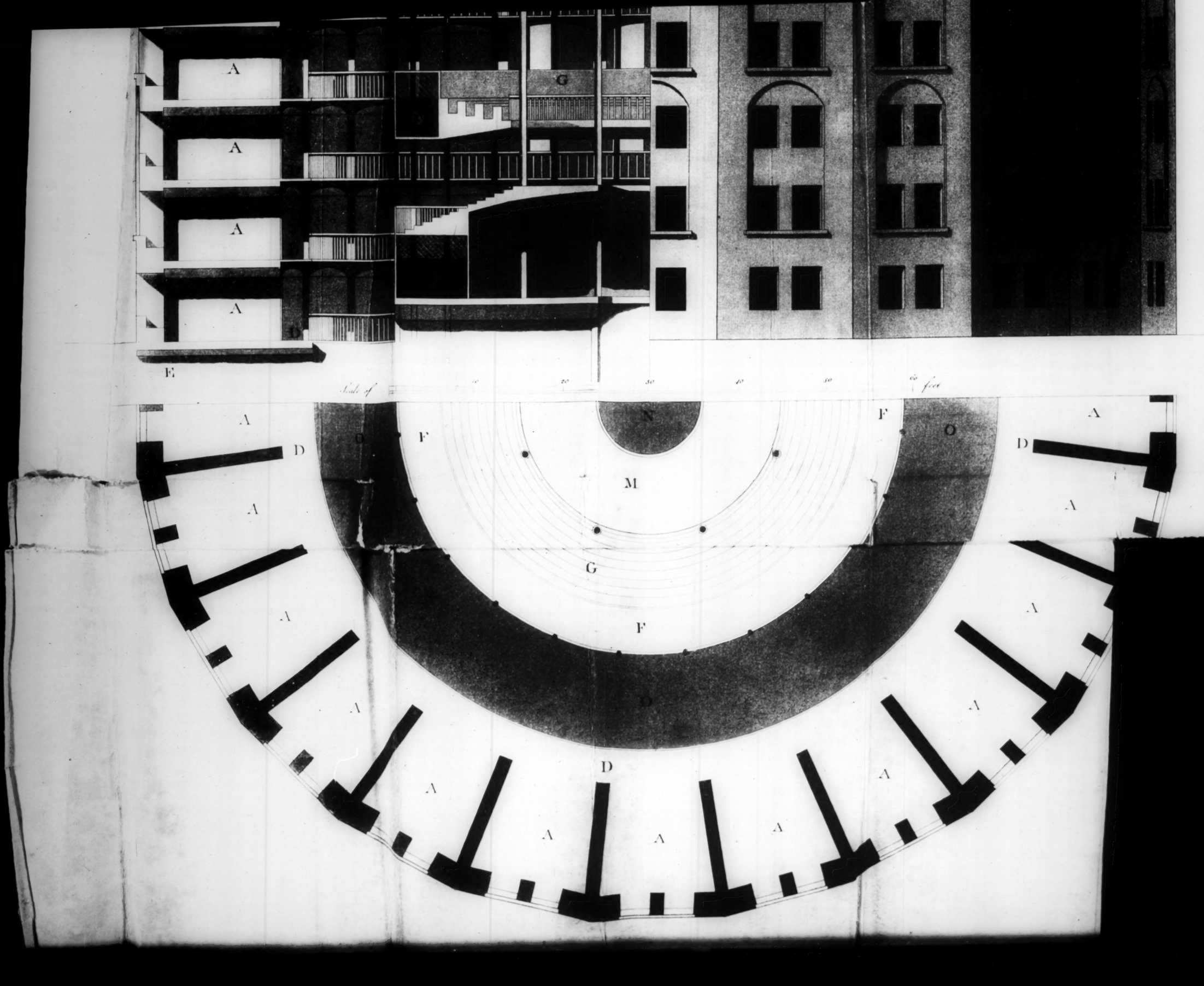
…apel inserted in the Center.

…Instead of three similar Stories of Inspection-Lodge, in the two Upper Stories …Annular Inspection-Galleries backed by the Chapel-Galleries, in the Lowest Story …Section-Gallery, enclosing a Circular Inspector's Lodge.

…Dome, a part inserted in the first hasty sketch, rather in the way of finish, than with …view to any special use.

References to Pla… Elevation, & Section.

A. Cells.
B to C. Great Annular Sky-…ght.
D. Cell-Galleries.
E. Entrance.
F. Inspection-Galleries.
G. Chapel-Galleries.
H. Inspector's Lodge.
I. Dome of the Chapel
K. Sky-light to d.ᵒ
L. Store-Rooms &c. wit… their Galleries, immediately within the outer Wall all round. …place for an Annular …stern.
M. Floor of the Chapel.
N. Circular aperture in … shut at Church times) to light the Inspector's Lodge.
O. Annular Well from t… …p to bottom, for light, Air, & Separation.


A
G
A
A
A
D
E
Scale of
feet
N
F
O
F
M
G
F
D
A
D
A
A
A